A TRUE ACCOUNT OF LAND FORCES IN ENGLAND; AND

Provisions for them, from before the *Reputed Conquest* downwards: And of the regard had to *Foreiners*.

In a Letter to A. B. C. T. T. T. *&c.*

WITH

ANIMADVERSIONS upon their Argument and History of Standing Armies; Militia Reformed; pretended Confutation of the Ballancing Letter; Life of *Milton*; and Letters concerning *Guards*, *Garrisons*, and *Mariners*.

O navis! referent in mare te novi
Fluctus: o quid agis? fortiter occupa
Portum ——

Thy happy Station, Ship of State! maintain,
Let not new Surges drive to Sea again.

LONDON,
Printed and are to be Sold by *J. Nutt*, near *Stationers*-Hall, 1698.

A SECOND LETTER to ABCDEF, &c.

THO, *Gentlemen*, Information is but thrown away, where there is wanting either Ingenuity to own Conviction, or Coolneſs to receive it; yet ſince your *Secretary* has obliged me with notice of your expecting to hear further from me, I ſhall not decline the Judgment of the Publick, whether I expoſe your way of writing, or my own: And ſince to me you ſeem poſſeſs'd with a Warmth againſt the preſent Government, I ſhall endeavour, if not to abate the heat of the diſtemper, yet to prevent its being catching.

You muſt pardon my Fears, ſince you give grounds for 'em, that 'tis very near turning to the Frenzy of downright *Toryiſm*; which, if it be a relapſe in any who had labour'd with that diſeaſe, but grew ſober upon the Revolution; muſt needs become incurable. But I hope in moſt of you it may be check'd, upon diſcovery of the firſt Symptoms; and that you your ſelves will not believe the freedom you take with dead *Tories*, a greater evidence of your being out of all danger of that diſeaſe, than there are proofs of it, in your ſtrict friendſhip with the living, and uniting in the ſame methods, not only for *clogging the Wheels* Hiſt. p. 46

of this Government, which you threaten; but for contributing to its subversion.

This is no more than must be expected from *Tories*, as such: If Strangers cannot *comprehend the nature of our Government*, how the *Monarchy* should be *hereditary*, and yet the Line of Succession not *unalterable*; 'tis certain a *Tory* has such an invincible Prejudice against this Notion, that nothing can beat into his Noddle, what overthrows the *Divine Right*, and *Power*, of a Papist or Tyrant, whom the chance of Birth had placed next to the Throne. And when you talk of a King's having Power *flowing from the People*, they will tell you 'tis mere *Blasphemy*, and that *Fortescue*, whom you cite for it, was but an Advocate for an Usurper.

Confutat. p. 31.

P. 32.

Should a *Tory* rise from the dead, and inform his Brethren, to what vain Idols they had sacrificed, with their Prostitutions of all Rights, Sacred as well as Civil; 'twould be likely to have no greater effect upon them, than the Admonitions of *Moses* and the *Prophets* had upon the obdurate *Jews*. But what unbias's'd person can believe them to be in their right Wits, who not only expect the defence of this Kingdom in all events, but their *Free Government*, under which they disguise their projected Scheme of a *Commonwealth*, from a *Coalition* of *Tories*, with these *free-spirited Gentlemen? Toryism* is such a Taint, as requires a severer state of Purgation, than the most rigid Philosopher ever prescrib'd for subduing corrupt Nature: And tho the Venom seems to sleep, while the Party are under some mortifications, yet like a lurking Plague it insensibly spreads its Infection: One would think a little remembrance of its Ravages in the late Reigns, might be sufficient Antidote against its

its Contagion: they who ſhall go about to cover thoſe *livid Spots* which many of 'em ſtill carry about 'em, muſt needs be thought to have their Brains ſeiz'd with that *Plague*; and with the accurſed deſire of communicating it to the ſound.

What elſe can one think of them, who when the Sincerity of ſome Promoters of their Project is queſtion'd, ſay, without any exception of thoſe who had been *engaged* againſt the Intereſt of their Country, *Charity commands us to hope the beſt*: Yet will give no grains of allowance to others, who by their ſuffering for adhering to the Liberties of *England*, had given full proofs of their Sincerity: but ſuch of them as *openly oppoſe* a Chimerical *Model* of a *Militia*, muſt paſs for *Apoſtate Whigs*. 'Tis certain that whoever would ſacrifice the Conſtitution of this Monarchy, or the only viſible means of preſerving it, to the intereſt of their Spleen or Party, muſt be *Tories*, whatever denomination they aſſume: They can now hope for no ſucceſs againſt the preſent Settlement of the Liberties of *England*, but in diſguiſe, and with the help of *falſe Diſciples*, who may betray 'em with a Kiſs. Milit. ref. p. 10. P. 7.

If theſe are to be diſtinguiſhed from *Tories*, at leaſt it muſt be agreed that they are far from being oppoſite to 'em, who maintain, That if *Whigs be the only Perſons intruſted, the Tories would juſtly continue ſtill diſaffected*; as if their diſaffection were ſo far from deſerving the pain of loſs, that it ought to be a recommendation to *Truſt*. However I muſt own you very politickly make way for your own admiſſions, by the complying Rule which you deliver, That *ſuch as are not admitted to Confidence and Preferment, are moſt of 'em offended* [*upon no other ſcore*]; according to which, Milit. ref. p. 54. Ib.

Vid. 1st Letter shewing their Notions taken from H's Occana. Argument p. 15.

the professed zeal of any of you for a Government of your own, or rather Mr. *Harrington's* Modelling, or of your new Friends, for *King James*; may be thought only in order to necessitate the Government to prefer the most clamorous, to stop their Mouths; and seems to point out the way of making you as bold *Conspirators against your Country*, as you represent your old Friends, whom you charge with *Apostacy*: when the true ground of this black imputation is their not joining with the *Tories*; While, with the mask of Commonwealths-men, they undermine that Government which has wounded *Toryism*, under the fifth Rib; but as 'twas just expiring, their new Friends, by an unmerciful pity, gave life to the destruction of Mankind: which, without his *Majesty's* glorious interposition, would not have left so much as the hopes of Civil Liberty, or freedom to profess the truly *Reformed Religion*.

In such a state, some of them who hector and threaten a patient administration, would have been very silent and *Passive*; and others could not for shame vent any murmurs, against what they had encouraged and incited, by their *slavish doctrines*.

Against which, they who have signalized themselves by an hazardous War, in times of the greatest danger, cannot but wonder at their assurance, who set up for Leaders in this noble Cause; and yet, like those who *perished in the gainsaying of Corah*, falsly represent their *Great Deliverer* from *Egyptian* Bondage, as *making himself altogether a Prince*, or Absolute over 'em.

When they who are so far from shewing any Scars in their Countries quarrel; that they were never heard of for *Champions* till that War was over, and nothing

nothing left 'em to Fight with but their own ſhadows, charge old Soldiers with *Deſertion* and *Apoſtacy*, which is appropriated to Religion; 'tis natural to enquire from whence 'tis that they take to themſelves ſuch an Authority of Stigmatizing whom they pleaſe: if 'tis not from their ſufferings in the Cauſe, is it from the advantage of Education, or that ſuperior Nature which they have over the reſt of Mankind, which can comprehend all *Myſteries*, not only of State, but of Religion?

If any of 'em were originally *Papiſts*, or *Tories*, the world will, doubtleſs, require other marks of their converſion, than advancing Reaſon into God's Throne, by repreſenting Divine *Myſteries* as no more *above* Reaſon than *contrary* to it; or ſhaking the Throne of that Prince whom God has made the Inſtrument of our *Deliverance*, from *Popery* and *Tyranny*.

Whatever are the Principles of theſe free Cenſurers of thoſe who can't come up to their heights; 'tis certain, that the load they lay upon the preſent Adminiſtration, is made up of matter, either wholly precarious, or aggravated with much ill nature, and groundleſs ſuppoſitions.

'Tis part of their unhappineſs, that like Mr. *Hobbs*, whoſe Notions ſome of them had imbib'd too early before they could rightly diſtinguiſh; they judge of all Mankind by themſelves; and think they are left to their own ways, without any reſtraint from Divine Grace, or Providence: this I cannot but apprehend to be the main foundation of the Politicks you, Gentlemen, advance; therefore 'tis that you tell us, you *have not only your own Experience, but the Examples of all times to prove, that men in the ſame Circumſtances will do the ſame things, call them by what names of diſtinction you pleaſe.* *Preſ. to the Hiſt.*

What

What is this but that *Whigs*, even the virtuous Authors of that Remark, would be as arrant *Tories* as any were in the Reigns you Cenſure; if they had the ſame opportunities? And as this is ſaid in relation to our preſent Government; That *King William*, who both here, and in *Holland*, has given demonſtrations of his inflexible reſolution to maintain the Rights of thoſe Nations over which he preſides; if he had the like Power in his hands with our former Kings, would make the like uſe of it? When his whole Life is a confutation of that mean thought of human Nature, which no honeſt mind could be guilty of. And if you could have one cool thought, you would find, that every Reign which you inſtance in, is a diſproof of your Notion, and makes it evident, That under good Princes their Subjects have been happy, tho there was Force more than enough to have made them otherwiſe; as *Queen Elizabeth*, whoſe Reign you propound as an Example, undoubtedly had, upon her diſappointing the *Spaniſh Invaſion*: And the Miſeries which this Nation has endured, under any Kings or Queens, have been owing more to the Tempers of their *Princes*, and the Malignity of the *Tories* and their Predeceſſors, who have delighted in publick Calamities; than to thoſe *Mercenary Forces* of which you pretend to give the Hiſtory; but depart from it as much as the moſt injudicious Pulpiteer does from his Text.

Pref. *A Government is a mere piece of Clockwork.*

But whatever be the inclination of the *Prince*, or poſture of Affairs, ſuch State-*Engineers*, if we may believe 'em, have an Art to make all Governments move as regularly as any *Piece of Clockwork*; which having ſuch Springs and *Wheels*, muſt act after ſuch

a man-

a manner; and therefore the Art is to conſtitute it ſo, that it muſt move to the Publick Advantage.

One would think 'twere very difficult, whatever Climate men were under, how barbarous and uncivilized ſoever; yet to contrive a *Machine of Government*, that ſhould force all to act for the *Publick Good.*

You, before whoſe Underſtandings Sacred Myſteries vaniſh to nothing, are reſolv'd that this ſhall not be kept in the dark; but for the full enlightning the Age, teach us, *That as every man will act for his own Intereſt; all wiſe Governments are founded upon that Principle: So that this whole Myſtery is only to make the Intereſt of the Governors and Governed the ſame.* Pref. to the Hiſt.

To ſet your Notion about this in a true light; 'twill be requiſite to lay together the different ways of explaining your ſelves, upon this your great *Arcanum.*

Preface to the Hiſtory.

'In an *Abſolute Monarchy*, where the whole 'Power is in one man, his 'Intereſt will be only regarded. In an *Ariſtocracy* the Intereſt of a 'few; and in a *Free Government* the Intereſt of 'every one: This would 'be the Caſe of *England*, 'if ſome Abuſes, that have 'lately crept into our 'Conſtitution, were re-

Argument, Page 4.

'Our Conſtitution depending upon a *due ballance* between *King*, '*Lords*, and *Commons*; and 'that *Ballance* depending 'upon their mutual occaſions and neceſſities 'they have of one another; if this Cement be 'once broke, there is an 'actual *diſſolution of the* '*Government.* Now this '*Ballance* can never be

'pre-

'moved. The Freedom 'of this Kingdom de- 'pends upon the Peoples 'chuſing the *Houſe of* '*Commons*, who are a 'part of the *Legiſlative*, 'and have the ſole power 'of giving Money: Were 'this a *true Repreſenta-* 'tive, and free from *ex-* 'ternal Force, or *private* 'Bribery, nothing could 'paſs there, but what 'they thought was for 'the publick Advantage. 'preſerv'd, but by an 'union of the *Natural* 'and *Artificial Strength* of 'the Kingdom: That is, 'by making the *Militia* 'to conſiſt of the ſame 'Perſons *as have the Pro-* 'perty: or otherwiſe the 'Government is violent, 'and againſt Nature, and 'cannot poſſibly conti- 'nue; but the *Conſtitu-* 'tion muſt either break 'the *Army*, or the *Army* 'will deſtroy the *Conſtitu-* 'tion: For it is univer- 'ſally true, that where 'the Militia is, there is 'or will be the Govern- 'ment in a ſhort time.

I would gladly know whether, though you ſeem to allow the *King* and *Lords* to be part of the *Conſtitution*, according to your avowed Principle, to make this a *Free Government* (which you know it can't be till the *Sword is in the hands of the People*) and to have the *Intereſt of the Governors and governed the ſame*. 1. The *Governors* ought not to be ſuch, as the *governed* ſhall from time to time, in ſhort Rotations, chuſe from among themſelves? 2. Whether the Stations both of *Kings* and *Lords*, would not be at the pleaſure of the People, in

Militia Reform'd, p. 22. Where-ever the Sword is in the hands of the People, 'tis a Free Government, be it of One, or Many; and on the contrary, all Tyrannies are ſupported by Mercenaries.

in whoſe hands you would have the Sword to be? and 3. Whether, to follow your own thoughts of Mankind, they would not, as ſoon as they were poſſeſs'd of this power, make themſelves that *free ſtate* which you ſo openly contend for? The great Things *King William* has done for the Nation, and the Obligation of Gratitude all of you, that are *Engliſhmen*, and *Proteſtants*, lie under; nay, which wiſe Papiſts thankfully acknowledge, will be nothing to them, who in the ſame breath that they condemn thoſe who *Attribute all publick Miſcarriages to the Corruption of Mankind*, own this to be ſo Univerſal, that *all men will do the ſame Things in the ſame Circumſtances*: that is, under the ſame Temptations. Since, therefore, you give ſo true a Character of your ſelves, at leaſt, you ſufficiently warn the Government againſt truſting you with Power; and give Reputation to the prudent diſpoſal and dividing of Offices; which, according to your own Doctrine, all *Kings* ought to be careful of, as they would preſerve their Crowns: nor is that to be look'd on as a *Bribe*, which is but a further Engagement to Duty, or Reward for adhering to it.

Prof. Moſt men having indigeſted Ideas of the Nature of it, attribute, *&c.*

Indeed it has been found by ſad Experience, that the giving Offices to Men by Principle, or Combination, againſt the Government, was but a lending Forces to the Enemy: and ſuch men were Bribed ſo much higher, by their expectations upon a change; that their Offices rarely gained a Vote to the Publick: but, as theſe men would ſacrifice their Offices to deſtroy it, and thereby make way for their greater hopes; no Offices could corrupt true Patriots; nor can they be beſtowed to an ill purpoſe, by a good

Prince. To imagine, that your Notions of Government, and Cenſures of the Powers that are over us, are any way applicable to the preſent Times, ſeveral invidious particulars muſt be unwarrantably ſuppoſed: As, 1. That the laſt Elections to Parliament, during His Majeſty's Abſence, were not free from External force: 2. That His Majeſty, and the Court, have an Intereſt ſeparate from that of the Publick: 3. That if there were private Bribery, it lay chiefly on the ſide of the Court. 4. That the Majority of the perſons choſen, are capable of being Bribed againſt their Country, if it could be thought that His Majeſty can have, or countenance any aims, contrary to the whole tendency of his Glorious Life.

Indeed 'tis well known who they are, that not only would make King *William* as bad as the worſt of his Predeceſſors, by their Notions of Mankind, without reſtriction; but by their broad inſinuations, and groſs diſtortions of the Actions of a Prince, whom all Enemies, but ſuch as would be thought *Engliſhmen*, ſpeak of with greater Decency, and that *Euphemeia*, with which ſome Gentlemen are but little acquainted. Their fineſt Expreſſions toward His Majeſty, as they are accompanied, are no leſs mockery than theirs; who after they had Crown'd our Saviour with Thorns, in prophane deriſion, cri'd, *Hail King of the Jews*. And as 'tis their buſineſs to make Monarchy odious, 'tis no leſs to make Crowns ſo Thorny, that no Prince ſhould be willing to wear one: which doubtleſs would come to paſs here, if Princes could think ſuch Perſons a true Repreſentative of the *Engliſh* Nation.

Dean *Sherlock's* Expreſſion.

'Tis no great Myſtery, Gentlemen, to whom you impute all the diſappointments which we have had, from the Subtilty of Enemies, Treachery of pretended

tended Friends, or numerous Accidents unforeſeen :
In your *Argument*, ſpeaking of a Miſapplication of P.19.
our *Naval* Force for Eight years, you ſay in the Singular Number ; " which unriddles a Myſtery I did
" not underſtand before ; though I never was ſo fooliſh
" as to believe all the Errors of that kind were the
" effects of Chance or Ignorance ; or that loſing ſo
" many opportunities of deſtroying the *French* Fleet,
" *had not ſome extraordinary, though occult cauſe* ; which
you repeat in your Hiſtory with little Variation, P.23.
ſaying, " Though a great part of it may be Attri-
" buted to the Negligence, Ignorance, or Treachery
" of Inferior Officers ; yet it could not ſo univer-
" ſally happen through the whole Courſe of the War,
" and unpuniſhed too, notwithſtanding the Clamours
" of the Merchants, and repeated complaints in Par-
" liament, *unleſs the Cauſe had laid deeper* : What
" that is, I ſhall not preſume to Enquire ; but I am
" ſure there has been a very ill Argument drawn
" from it, *viz. That a Fleet is no ſecurity to us.*

Certainly, without any deep diving into the bottom of your Reflection, the whole Scope of your Diſcourſes in Print, and Coffee-Houſes ſhew an inſinuation, as if the Navy has been render'd uſeleſs through the deſign of him, or them, who intended to ſet up a *Standing Army*. To know whether King *William* is concern'd in this Reflection, 'tis but turning to what you ſay towards this matter, of the *Prince of Orange* : ſpeaking of the inducements men had to turn againſt King *James*, you ſay ; " *By* which Hiſt. p.19.
" means they all united againſt him, and invited the
" *Prince of Orange*, to aſſiſt them ; which invitation
" he accepted, and Landed at *Torbay*, the *5th* of *No-*
" *vember* 1688. publiſhing a Declaration, which ſet

"forth all the Oppreſſions of the laſt Reign, [but "the keeping up a *Standing Army*]; declared for a "free Parliament, in which things were to be ſo ſetled, "that there ſhould be no danger of falling again in- "to Slavery, and promis'd to ſend back all his Forces "as ſoon as this was done.

Here, [but the keeping up a *Standing Army*] is put with particular marks of diſtinction, as mightily to be obſerv'd; when 'tis well known, that if that was a material Omiſſion, 'tis to be imputed to *Major Wildman*, and other *Engliſhmen*, whom you have in eſteem, and who either penn'd or adviſed that Declaration; nor is this particular, that I remember, mentioned in a larger *Manifeſto*, publiſhed by *Major Wildman* himſelf: nor indeed could have been urged with ſo much grounds as the other notorious violations of the Conſtitution; the Army having been rais'd in the defence of the then Government, againſt an Invaſion by the *Duke of Monmouth*: which was very formidable, though he Landed with no more than 70 odd men: and was afterwards kept up in fear of the much greater power of His *preſent Majeſty*, when but *Prince of Orange*. But here's too plain an inſinuation, as if he broke his promiſe contained in his Declaration, in not ſending back all his Foreign Forces, as ſoon as a free Parliament had been holden, *and things ſo ſetled by that Parliament, that there ſhould be no danger of falling again into ſlavery.*

Letter from the Author of the Arguments. p. 4.

Now, according to your Argument, as 'tis a ſtate of Peace, as ſoon as Terms are agreed on, and Signed, and a Peace Proclaim'd, or rather when, according to your pleaſant definition of *Peace*, there *is a Ceſſation of the Exerciſe of the uſe of Arms*; which may reach no further than a ſhort truce, or only a diſcontinuance

continuance of the Diſciplining of Soldiers, between Exerciſe and Exerciſe; ſo, as ſoon as the Bill of Rights was paſs'd into an Act of Parliament, His Majeſty was obliged to have ſent back all his *Foreign Forces*: which if he had done, the Bill of Rights had been very inſignificant; nor was the Militia of *England* likely ſo ſoon to have reduced a *Scotch* Regiment in actual Rebellion, as Colſonel *Eppingham*'s Regiment of *Dutch* Dragoons did.

Hiſt. p. 38. It was in that ſenſe I underſtood His Majeſties Declaration.

But, Gentlemen, in whatever ſenſe you took His Majeſty's Declaration, had you not run it over with your uſual heat and inconſideration, you would have found, that the promiſe in the Declaration was to ſend the Forces back, *as ſoon as the ſtate of the Nation will admit of it.* But certainly the reſtleſs Spirits of ſuch perſons as you well know, with the probability of the continuance of a Plot, to dethrone the King, if not to *murder* him; and the grounds to believe that thoſe Regiments which have been form'd in *Lancaſhire*, and elſewhere, for the deſtruction of our Religion, and Liberties, are not broken; may occaſion a conſideration, whether the *State of the Nation* will *yet admit* of ſending back the very few that remain of His Majeſty's Foreign Forces.

The manifeſt conviction of the unfairneſs of your inſinuation, as if His Majeſty had purpoſely omitted declaring againſt a *Standing Army*, becauſe of his intention to keep one, and that contrary to his Declaration; may ſuperſede, the conſidering many of your like perverſions: To which that of the Poet is applicable:

Aut famam ſequere, aut convenientia finge.

Which

Which I may render,
If you ſlight truth, feign what may be believ'd.

'Twere to no purpoſe here to rake into all the filth of your *Augæan* Stable, 'tis enough to ſhew how it ought to be regarded. In order to which I ſhall obſerve, 1. The ſincerity and truth of your Hiſtory, and other Papers on this Subject. 2. Their pertinency. 3. The ſtrength of your Reaſoning. 4. Your great knowledge in the Conſtitution of this Monarchy. 5. The proviſion you make to ſecure it.

Their ſincerity and truth in Hiſtory.

1. You think it plain from the Hiſtory of all times, and places, and of *England* eſpecially, that no Government has been, or can be *free*, without *the Sword in the hands of the people*; that is, as you explain your ſelves, the *men of property*; and that a *Standing Army* is *Slavery*, *Popery*, *Mahometiſm*, *Paganiſm*, *Atheiſm*, or any thing which they pleaſe; Your definition of *a Standing Army, is Horſe and Foot rais'd under Commiſſion granted by the King, with Swords and Piſtols, Pikes, and Muſquets, Powder, and Ball, to kill men.* Now if it ſhould happen that Bows and Arrows were us'd at any time, and no Muſquets, you may help your ſelves off from ſome inſtances of *Standing Armies*, becauſe no Muſquets were uſed, which you bring into the definition: However, when you argue for truſting *Arms* only in the hands *of ſober, induſtrious, and underſtanding Freemen*, to keep to your definition, the Commanders of theſe *Freemen* ought not to be commiſſioned by the King; but be that as 'twill (ſince your Scheme for the *Militia* leaves it indifferent, *Whether they be Elected by Lot, or ſucceſſively appointed by the King*;) yet you will have it, that in all *Free Governments*, and particularly

An Abſtract of ſome of the inſtances.

A Letter from the Author of the Argument againſt a Standing Army. p. 5.

Mil. p. 17.

Militia Reform'd p. 49. p. 22.

cularly in the *Roman*, as long as the Governments have continued free, the Sword has been in the hands of the people, or Freemen; and that *none but men of Fortune and Property, whose private interest firmly engaged them to the publick good, had the honour of serving in their Armies*; for which purpose you load your Margin with pompous Quotations, which may pass upon the unwary for proofs of your assertions. Militia Reform'd. p. 19.

And you lay it as a Rule, which you hold to be *universally true, That where-ever the Militia, or Military Strength is, there is, or will be, the Government in a short time.* Argument p. 4.

As to *England*, you with great triumph *desire to know* of the Patriots, "How comes an Army ne- ib. p. 25.
"cessary to our preservation now, and never since
"the Conquest before? Did ever the prevailing Party
"in the Wars of *York* and *Lancaster*, attempt to keep
"up a *Standing Army* to support themselves? *Na*;
"you conclude, they had more sense than to Sacri-
"fice their own Liberty, and more honour than to
"enslave their Country, the more easily to carry on
"their own Faction; and according to your gift of
"bringing in your *twice sodden Coleworts*, in your
History you say, "In all the Wars of *York* and *Lan-*
"*caster*, whatever Party prevailed, we don't find
"they ever attempted to keep up a standing Army;
"such was the virtue of those times, that they
"would rather run the hazard of forfeiting their
"Heads and Estates to the rage of the opposite Party,
"than certainly enslave their Country, tho they p. 3.
"themselves were to be the Tyrants.

In the Argument (which possibly my first Letter may have prevented your repeating as to this matter) "you say, "Were not the *Spaniards* as Powerful, as

good

Ar. p. 25. "good Soldiers, and as much our Enemies, as the "*French* are now? Was not *Flanders* as near us as "*France*? And the Popiſh Intereſt in Queen *Eliza-* "*beth*'s time as ſtrong as the *Jacobite* is now? And "yet that moſt Excellent Princeſs never dream'd of "a *Standing Army*, but thought her ſureſt Empire "was to Reign in the Hearts of her Subjects.

Your Argument being ſomething cooler than your Hiſtory, you could not grace your firſt attempt, to prove that Land Forces muſt neceſſarily deſtroy our Conſtitution, with any part of the Reign of *J.* I. a King who ſcandalouſly affected the Stile of *Pacific*; and yet, without Arms, waged War with his Subjects, and gain'd ground upon their Liberties.

Indeed as to *C.* I. you inform the World, That nothing but want of a Standing Force ſaved the Nation
Ar. p. 14. v. à cont. in his time, and are poſitive, if he *had had Five*
Hiſt. p. 6. & p. 7. *thouſand Men beforehand with us*, which is not limited to any *particular part* of his Reign, *the People had never ſtruck a ſtroke for their Liberties.*

You affirm, "That this Nation would not ſuffer "our Kings to keep up an Army in *Ireland*, tho there "were frequent Rebellions there, and by that means "their ſubjection very precarious, *as well knowing* "*they would be in* England *when called for.*

Id. p. 16. "*Charles* the IId, you ſay, being connived at in "keeping a few Guards (which were the firſt ever "known to an *Engliſh* King beſides his Pentioners and "his Beef-Eaters) he inſenſibly increaſed their Num- "ber, till he left a Body of Men to his Succeſſors
vid. Hiſt. p. 17. à con. "great enough to tell the Parliament, *he would be no* "*longer bound by the Laws he had Sworn to.*

Speaking of the Reign of His preſent Majeſty, with whoſe Adminiſtration you take as much freedom

as

as with any of his Predeceſſors, you affirm, That 7877 of his Majeſty's preſent Forces are Foreigners, *which*, according to your great truth and knowledge in Hiſtory, you ſay, *is the firſt Foreign Army that ever ſet foot in* England, *but as Friends*. P. 37.

You boldly intimate, That the Officers of all his Majeſty's preſent Forces, ought to be *Attainted of High Treaſon*, and that Soldiers are now, *againſt Law*, *Quartered in all parts of* England, by no other *Authority* than a *Vote* of the Houſe of Commons to give 350000 *l.* for *Guards* and *Gariſons*. P. 25, 26.

All which Hiſtorical aſſertions and inſinuations, with ſome of their further embelliſhments, deſerve a ſhort examination; and it may be worth enquiry, whether a little ingenuity, or attention, to what you had been informed of not long before, might not have prevented ſome of your miſtakes, both in the *Roman* and *Engliſh* Hiſtory; as well as an Act of Parliament might have ſilenc'd your objection againſt the Legality of the preſent Subſiſtence of a Land Force.

Roman Hiſtory.

As to your uſe of the *Roman* Hiſtory, you may pleaſe to remember inſtances offered to your obſervation, whereby it appeared, that That Wiſe People, even while they had a Commonwealth, were far from keeping to your balance, between the *natural and artificial ſtrength*; the far greater part of their Armies having been *Auxiliaries*: and that they did not think they could have preſerved their Liberties, without repoſing large confidence in great and virtuous *Generals*, as particularly they did, with good ſucceſs, in *Pompey*.

Vid. Letter to *A*, *B*, &c. p. 26.

Ar. p. 4.

Vid. Letter to *A*, *B*, &c p. 26.

But I would gladly know, how long, or in what time ſince *Rome*'s extending its Dominion beyond the

Walls, or Suburbs of the *City*, 'twas such a *Free Government* as you contend for, where *the Sword is in the hands of the People, and all Persons are equally Educated in Civil and Military Diſcipline.*

Militia Reform'd. p. 22.

Since to them who fancy they can comprehend infinity, a Thouſand years may ſeem but as a day; 'Tis an eaſy leap with you from the *Comitia Curiata* (which according to *Amelius*, had no relation to Soldiery) and the *Centuriate Aſſemblies* of ancient *Rome, Eſtabliſhed in its Infancy, above* 600 years before Chriſt (the time of the continuance of which, according to its firſt Eſtabliſhment, is wholly uncertain) to come to an Order publiſh'd in the Fourth Century after Chriſt, by *Gratian, Valentinian*, and *Theodoſius*, which you bring in as a *Rule of liſting Freemen only*: but with your uſual ſtrain of Reflections, you make it to have had no effect, becauſe the *Emperors at the ſame time reſolv'd to continue Arbitrary.*

Ib. p. 32.

Vid. Flor. *Prima ætas ſub Regibus fuit prope 250 annos quibus circum ipſam matrem ſuam cum finitimis luctatus eſt.*

However, the Rule you inſtance in is neither rightly underſtood, nor applied by you; for the decree which you render, that in our *beſt Troops* there be no *Slaves* enroll'd, "nor *any Servants* out of Houſes "of Entertainment; is reſtrain'd "to the *beſt Troops of the choiceſt* "*or moſt ſelect Soldiers*, or rather *Horſemen*, among "which there were to be no *Servants*, nor any one "taken from an Houſe of Entertainment.

Inter optimas lectiſſimorum militum turmas nominem è numero ſervorum dandum eſſe decernimus neve ex aupona ducatum.

'Tis manifeſt that the decree has nothing of your diſtinction between *Slaves* and *Servants*; nor relates to Common Soldiers; but to the beſt Horſe, and probably ſuch as made the *Emperors* Horſe Guards: but

if

if this decree did extend farther, neceſſity would have compell'd thoſe Emperors to break it, not for the making themſelves abſolute, but to defend themſelves from the *Goths* and *Vandals*, who had before that time broken in upon the *Roman Empire*: but if we confine our ſelves to the times, while *Rome*, as you would have it, maintain'd your *Free Government*; 'tis certain, that without the help of *Auxiliaries*, and giving the *Roman* privileges to Strangers, they could not have preſerv'd ſo much as the Being of their Commonwealth, much leſs have enlarged it: And that they did not ſubdue the *Eaſtern* Nations by the Militia of *Italy*: nor was the Sword firſt *put into the hands of Servants by the Arbitrary Emperors*, who durſt not *truſt men of Property*. Though you, going on with this imagination of your own, impute the ſhaking off of the *Roman* Empire, by the *Oriental Countries*, and the Invaſion of the *Goths and Vandals*, to the Arbitrary diſpoſition of the Emperors, which led 'em to Arm Servants, or others beſides *Citizens*, or *Freemen*: 'Tis no matter whether this be true, it makes for your purpoſe to aſſert it, and few you think will preſume to doubt your Authority. Upon which you would have it believ'd, That till about the time the *Eaſtern* Nations ſhook off the *Roman* Yoke, and the Empire was invaded by the *Goths* and *Vandals*, none but *men of Property* bore Arms for it; and that thus it would have continued but for the Arbitrarineſs of the *Emperors*.

Militia Reform'd. p. 69.

Ib.

But whoever were to be entruſted with Arms, according to the ſtricteſt *Roman* Diſcipline; 'tis certain it ow'd the chief Proviſions for its ſecurity and greatneſs, to the Wiſdom and Virtue of Kings.

Florus lib. 1. cap. 3. *Hic omne militarem disciplinam artemq; bellandi condidit.*

Tullus Hostilius first instituted all their Military Discipline and Art of War; inspired into *Rome* the courage to rival *Alba*, and power to destroy it. The *Centuriate* Assemblies which you recommend, were first appointed by the elder *Tarquin*, whose Foreign Birth was of no small advantage towards his improving his Kingdom: and the inviting Strangers, and transplanting the *Albines*, made no inconsiderable accession to the strength of the *Romans*; which men were not so much for their Birth, as common Interest, to preserve the place of their Settlement.

If at their first planting, before the Excesses of some, and Avarice of others, had made unequal Distributions of Property; every Proprietor of ability serv'd in the War in person; 'tis certain, when one man came to possess as much as One hundred had at the first, he must either have supplied his Quota with himself, and Ninety nine Servants, or Hirelings; or else there must have been but one Soldier, where there had been an hundred.

This, Gentlemen, Reason might inform you, without consulting History; however, you might have observ'd out of *Velleius Paterculus*, enough to overthrow your fancy of the *Roman* Discipline.

Velleius Paterculus lib. 2. in principio.

"The first *Scipio*, says he, open'd the way to "the power of the *Romans*, the latter to their Luxury; "for the fear of *Carthage* being removed, and the "Emulatrix of Empire taken away; they departed "from Virtue, and run over to Vices, not by de- "grees, but with a precipitous course: *The Old* "*Discipline was Deserted*, New brought in; the "City was turn'd from Watchings to Sleep, *from* "*Arms to Pleasures*, from Business to Idleness: then

"*Scipio*

"*Scipio Nasica* built Porches in the Capitol, *Metellus*, "those which are mentioned before; then *Cæus Octa-* "*vius* in the *Cirque* much the pleasantest of them "all: And *private Luxury succeeded publick Magni-* "*ficence.* Then follow'd the sad and reproachful War "in *Spain*, *Viriathus* being Leader of the Robbers; "which was waged with so various fortune, that "'twas for the most part adverse to the *Romans*: But "*Viriathus* being slain, rather by the Fraud than Va- "lour of *Servilius Cæpio*; a more grievous one of the "*Numantines* broke out. This City never armed more "than Ten thousand of its own Youth.

Hæc urbs nunquam plura quam decem millia propriæ juventutis armavit. Argument p. 7.

Now to judge whether your Scheme of a Commonwealth is practicable here, since the encrease of Arts, Sciences, and Luxury; apply it only to your own pattern, and consider whether *a general exercise of the best of the people of* Rome *in the use of Arms, was the only bulwark of their Liberties?* and whether *in those days there was no difference* between *the Citizen, the Soldier, and the Husbandman?*

'Tis observable, that this ancient Author says, that the *Romans* in no time arm'd more *than ten thousand* of its own Youth: And as the Learned *Vossius* observes, "*Appian* "lessens this Number by 2000. "*Florus* and *Orosius*, take away "more than half, for they speak "only of *four thousand.*

Gerardi Vossi Nota in Paterculum upon this passage. *Hæc urbs*, &c. *Florus autem & Orosius plus dimidio demunt. Nam de quaternis solum millibus loquuntur.*

If the whole Commonwealth of *Rome* was, as you imagine, but *one form'd Militia*, it must needs have had a much greater body of its own Youth, than the highest of these computations; but whatever was the number of their own Forces, they could not always maintain the *seat of Empire*; but once Argument p. 7.

were

Velleius Paterc. lib. 2. Sect. 16. *Caput imperii ſui Corfinium legerant*, &c.

were forc'd to change it for *Corfinium*, where they muſt have skulk'd till they had been deſtroyed, but for very great men at their head, and the putting Arms into the hands of *Strangers*, or others, not before truſted with them.

For further evidence that the *Roman* Wars were not carried on only by the Citizens of *Rome*; Permit me to Tranſcribe part of what *Velleius Paterculus* ſays of the War commenced by the *Aſculans*, and followed by the *Marſians*, and the generality of the people of *Italy*, becauſe of their being denied the Freedom of the *City*.

Quorum ut fortuna atrox ita cauſa fuit juſtiſſima: petebant enim eam civitatem cujus imperium armis tuebantur: per omnes annos atq; omnbel la duplici numero ſe militum equitumq; fungi: neq; in ejus civitatis jus recipi, quæ per eos in id ipſum perveniſſet faſtigium, per quod homines ejuſdem & gentis & ſanguinis, ut exernos alienoſq; faſtidire poſſet.

W'hoſe Fortune, ſays he, *as 'twas ſevere, ſo their cauſe was moſt juſt; for they demanded the freedom of that* City, *whoſe Empire they had defended by their Arms: They repreſented that throughout all Years, and all Wars, they ſerv'd with a* double *Quota of Foot and Horſe: and yet were not admitted to the right of that* City, *which by their means had arrived to that very height, that it could contemn men of the ſame both Nation and Blood, as Foreigners and Strangers.*

Thus

Thus it may appear, that *Rome* was never for any conſiderable time ſuch a *free Government*, as you labour for, nor indeed could be: And 'twill appear, that you are neither more fair, nor more fortunate in the *Engliſh*, than you have been in the *Roman* Story.

In the *Saxon* Times, as I had obſerv'd, before the great encreaſe of Trade, the ballance of Power was on the ſide of Property, and that in Land; that Polity was admirable for the Peope in thoſe Circumſtances; but as 'twould be the work of Ages, to reduce us to thoſe Circumſtances; ſo 'twould be to make us capable of that model; and to that end there muſt be a new diſtribution of Property, upon which, you, Gentlemen, no doubt would propoſe to your ſelves a ſhare according to your large Merits. But even then no man was obliged to go to the War in his own perſon, 'twas enough if he found a ſufficient man in his room; for which I may refer you to *Doomeſday* Book, that great Record of the time of *William* I. where ſpeaking of the then Ancient Cuſtom in the City of *Worceſter*, it ſhews that when the *King* went to the War, if any one, who was ſo free, that he had ſuit and ſervice of Court, and could go with his Land, whither he would, ſtaid at home after Summons; he was to be in the King's mercy for all his Land: If he was a Freeholder

* Vid. Firſt Letter to *A, B, C.* from p. 16, 17, 18.

A ſhort Account of the Ancient Proviſions and Eſtabliſhments for defence of this Kingdom, and of the truſt for that end repos'd in the Crown.

Doomeſday. *Wirceſtre ſcirs. In civ. Wirceſt. quando Rex in hoſtem pergit ſiquis edicto ejus vocatus remanſerit; ſi ita liber homo eſt ut habeat ſocam ſuam & ſacam & cum terrâ ſuâ poſſit ire quo voluerit, &c.*

Freeholder of any Lord, and his Lord found a man in his ſtead, after he had been ſummon'd by his Lord; he was to pay his Lord 40 *s.* if no body went for him, ſtill he was to pay 40 *s.* to his Lord, and the Lord to pay as much to the King.

Trinoda neceſſitas. Vid. Regiſt. Abind. in Bib. Cot. Claud 9. Cart. E. 1. *ante* Conq; Excepr. *rata* viz. *Expeditione pontis arciſq; repar. ſic* ib. Cart. Ed. Conf ib. Cart. *Ethelredi communi labore*, &c.

In thoſe times, beſides the *common* rate, or the general incidents to Land (unleſs ſuch as were particularly exempted by Charters paſs'd in the *Great Councils*,) call'd, The *Threefold neceſſity*. 1. The *Expedition*. 2. The Repair of Bridges. 3. Of Forts and Caſtles. There were long before the reputed Conqueſt, expreſs reſervations of Military Tenures.

Vid. White's Sacred Law. p. 148. 12 *Cum ſcutis*. Vid. Bib. Col. ſub. Effigie Claudii 9.

Cum Regis Edicto in annalibus anno erentur quot de Epiſcopiis quotve de Abbatiis ad publicam rem tuendam milites, ſi forte huic cauſa propellenda contigeret exigerentur eiſdem donativis prius retentis Abbas manſiones poſſeſſioni Eccles. pertin. inde delegavit: edicto cuiq; tenore parendi de ſuæ portionis manſione. Quæ poſſeſſio nes ab eis habita fuerunt quos Thanos dicunt, & in bello Haſtingis occubuerant.

Long ſince notice has been taken of the Charter of *Kenulph*, King of *Mercia* to *Abington*, exempting them from all Services, but the expedition with 12 Shield-bearers; which according to the Regiſter of *Abington* in the *Cotton Library* were ſo many *Thanes* or *Knights*: That Regiſter, ſpeaking of the number of *Knights* Enrolled in *Doomeſday* Book, as charged upon *Biſhopricks*, and Abbies; ſhews, "that the Donatives or "Grants having been before kept in poſſeſſion; that "Abbot alienated from the Church, ſome *Manſions*, "Houſes with portions of Land; every one being "appointed the tenour of his Service for his propor-"tion. *Which poſſeſſions had been enjoyed by them "whom they call* Thanes, *and had dyed in the battle "at* Haſtings. Thus

Thus in *Doomeſday* Book we find that *Ayulf* the Chamberlain held [a]*Odeton* in *Dorſetſhire*, which had been poſſeſs'd by *Bruſi* King *Edwards* Knight, (the ſame as I take it with [b]*Huſcarle*) and *Godwin*, [c] and his Son *Harold*, were by judgment of the *Great Council*, to deliver or aſſign over to that King, the Service of all their *Knights* throughout *England*.

The Antiquity of theſe Services, and other incidents to tenure, may appear by [d] *Wulfere* the *Mercian* King's Charter of exemption to *Medhamſted* or *Peterborough*, in the year 664.

Wulfere's Charter, ſubſcrib'd by ſeveral of his Peers, and conſented to by the reſt of the *Great men*, and the King's *Thanes*, "exempts "the *Monks* of that place, and "their *Demeſns* from every ſcot "and geld, and from every aid of "*Kings*, *Sheriffs*, and of all their "Miniſters, Hidage, and *Dane-*"*geld*, from the pleas and plaints "of *Shires* and *Hundreds*, *Ward-*"*penny*, *Boroughpenny*, and *Leſtage*, "*Wrec*, and from all Works and "Encloſures of *Caſtles*, *Parks*, and "Houſes, and from all *Carriage*, "and *Summage*, and *Shipping*, "and Building of the King's "Houſes, and all work. And "their Woods were not to be

[a] Domeſday. *Dorſet Terra Ayulfi Camerar. Ipſe A. tinet Odetun. Bruſi tenuit milit Regis Edw.*

[b] Bedefordſcire f. 216. *Tovi Huſcarle Regis Edwardi.*

[c] Malmſ. f. 81. *Servitium militum quod per Angliam habebant Regi contraderent.*

[d] Vid. Original. Cart. in Bib. Cot.

Cum cæteris optimatibus & Miniſtris Regis.

Ab omni Scotta & gelda, & ab omni auxilio Regum, Vicecomitum, & omnium Miniſtralium ſuorum: & Schirar. & hund. placitis & querelis, Wardpenii, & Boroupenii, & Laſtage, Wrec. & ab omnibus operibus caſtellorum, parcorum, & domuum & de clauſtur & ab omni Cartio, & ſummagio, & navigio, & regalium dom. edificatione & omnimoda operatione. Et ſilva eor. ad pred. opera vel ad aliqua alia nullo modo capiantur. Precipimus etiam quod pred. monaſterium & dominica ſint lib. & quiet ab omni damnatione & exactione Com. Baron. Vicecomitum, & Miniſtral. ſuor.

made uſe of, for the ſaid or other Works.

"Beſides, 'tis particularly required, that the ſaid "Monaſtery and Demeſns, be free and acquitted from "all domination and exaction of Earls, *Barons*, She-"riffs, and their Officers.

But all the Lands which were not thus exempted, were ſubject to the incidents abovementioned; and ſome were over and above thoſe incidents, particularly obliged to ſerve the King, or the Lord, who was the King's immediate Tenant; not but that before the reputed Conqueſt, 'tis to be believed that the number of ſuch as were bound to particular Services were much leſs, than they were after the large diſtribution of forfeited and other Lands, made by *William* the I. to thoſe who aſſiſted him in recovering his Right, which many of the *Engliſh* did.

Vid. 1ſt. Let. *p.* 20. * *Selden's* Tit. of Honour. *f.* 573. 60215. Knights Fees. Doomeſday. *Leiceſtr. Si verò per mare in hoſtes ibat mittebant quatuor equos.* Ib. Colchſter. *Ad victum ſoldariorum Regis ad expeditionem terræ vel maris* Ib. *Et hoc ſi ſi Rex ſoldariis haburit vel expeditionem fecerit.*

'Tis generally * thought, that *W.* I. had more than 60000, which before the time of the great Survey, were obliged to ſerve him in his Wars; though the Author of the Red Book in the Exchequer, makes the number but 22000. What was the proportion of every ſingle Perſon, or Body Politick, towards the War, as I take it, cannot now be known by *Doomeſday-Book*; but depended upon their Grants: though the proportions of ſome are there enter'd: Thus the City of *Leiceſter*, now but a Borough Town, was to ſend *Four Horſes to carry Arms*, or things neceſſary, as far as *London, upon a Naval Expedition*. The Town of *Colcheſter* in *Eſſex* us'd to pay *6 d. per* Houſe for the ſubſiſtence of the King's Soldiers for Land Service, and that while there were Soldiers in pay, though no actual expedition. The Town of *Stanford* was geldable for the Land and Sea-Service, and *Danegeld*, at the

rate

rate of 12 Hundreds and an half; where the finding the men was plainly left to the discretion of the King and his Officers; and indeed, unless 'twere generally so, 'twill be difficult to believe, that the Ancient *Historians* give a true account, when they represent *Doomesday-Book* as an entry, how many *Knights* or *Soldiers* the *Clergy* was to furnish as well as the *Laity*; and yet the general Entry is only that Lands were *geldable*, at so many *Hides*, or the like.

Inter al. Brompton f. 976. 20. W. I. *Quot hidæ i. e. jugera uni aratro per annum sufficientia in unaquaq; villâ essent, & quantum terræ quisq; Baronum suorum possidebat Inquiri etiam fecit quot feodati milites*, &c.

Wendover M. S. in Bib. Cot. sub Effigie Claudii de Ann. 1070. *Episcopatus quoq; & Abbatias omnesquæ Baronias tenebant & eatinus ab omni servitio sæculari libertatem habuerant sub servitute statuit militari, irrotulans singulos Episcopatus & Abbatias pro voluntate suâ, quot milites sibi & succes. suis hostilitatis tempore voluit à singulis exhiberi, & rotulos hujus Ecclesiasticæ servitutis ponens in Thesauris*, &c.

Indeed, it seems by *Roger* of *Wendover*, who wrote before *Matthew Paris* That *W.* I. in the *4th* of his Reign, put under Military Service, all *Bishopricks* and *Abbies* that held *Baronies*, enrolling every *Bishoprick* and *Abby* in the Exchequer, with the charge of so many Knights, or men, as he thought fit to be us'd in time of War.

*Cart. Mon. El. in Bib. Cot f. 127. B. Cart. H. 1.

Whether the Charter of *H.* 1. to * *Ely* relates to this Entry in the Exchequer of *W.* I.; or to the *Great Survey* made at the latter end of his Reign, I need not determine: but some of the words of that Charter I think very material to our present Subject.

H. Rex Anglor. Com' Vic' & omnibus fidel. suis Francis & Anglis totius Angliæ salutem. Sciatis

Henry *King of the* English *to the* Earls, Barons, *and all faithful Subjects*, French *and* English, *Greeting*.

 quia

quia volo, & concedo, & præcipio ut omnes illi Barones, & Vavaſores, qui terras illas tenent quas Carta mea Wintoniæ de Theſauro meo, teſtatur fuiſſe juratas temporis patris mei, ad pacem Eccleſ. de Ely, recognoſcant eas & teneant de præd' Eccleſ. & Epiſc. de Ely amodo & in perpetuum: faciendo inde Eccleſiæ ſervitium militiæ ſecundùm tenuras, & ſecundum hoc quod ſervitia ſtatuta ſunt. Et ita quod Barones, & Vavaſores, eaſdem terras tenentes quieti ſint erga me & alios Dominos ſuos, de tanto ſervitio quantum inde Epiſc. & Eccleſ. præd' facere debuerint, in ſtatuto ſervitio militiæ.

Know you, that I will, and grant, and command, That all thoſe Barons *and* Vavaſors, *who hold thoſe Lands which my Charter-Roll of the Exchequer at* Wincheſter, *teſtifies to have been ſworn in the time of my Father, to preſerve the peace of the Church of* Ely, *henceforth and for ever recognize and hold them of the ſaid Church, and the Biſhop of* Ely: *doing for them to the Church* Military Service, *according to their Tenures, and according to the Services which are* appointed. *And ſo that the* Barons *and* Vavaſors, *holding thoſe Lands, be acquitted towards me, and other Lords, of ſo much Service, as they ought from thence to perform to the ſaid* Biſhop and Church, *according to the appointed* Military Service.

They

They who were thus to serve the King in his Wars, as Tenants of the Church, or Lay-Lords, were of the nature of a *Standing Force*, in compariſon with thoſe who either were *geldable*, *or chargeable, according to the quantity of their Lands, to the maintenance of theſe, beyond the times that their tenures required their Service; or other Soldiers that the King ſhould raiſe; as alſo in compariſon of the *Socmanni*, free Socagers, or the *Alodiaries*, under the *Thanes* or *Barons*, ſuch as for inſtance, *Ednod* and *Edwi* were, in the time of the *Confeſſor*, and after, and their Heir *Cole*, who paid Relief to Earl *William*. Theſe neither held their Lands by Military Service, nor were they, as I take it, *geldable*; and yet by virtue of the *Confeſſor's* Law, Declaratory of the Common Law of the Kingdom, were obliged to find †Arms according to their real and perſonal Eſtates; to produce 'em at the *Wapentakes*, or Hundred Courts; and employ 'em for the *defence of the Kingdom*: in which they were to be aided by all who lived under the *King's* protection and peace. For the maintaining which, our Kings have originally been entruſted with power, by commiſſions of *Array*, to raiſe not only *Freemen*,

Vid. in Doomeſday, diſtinctions between Lands or Houſes, Geldantes, and others.

So Doomeſday. Salop. In civitate Scropesberie ſunt 252. Burgenſes, &c. dicunt Angli Burgenſes ſcropesberie multum grave eſſe quod ipſi reddant totum geldum ſicut reddebatur T.R.E. *Quamvis caſtellum Comes occupaverit & 51 maſuras & alia 50 maſura ſunt waſta & 43 Francigina burgenſes tenent maſuras geldantes* T.R.E.

*Doomeſday, *Dorſete in Brideport* T.R.E. *erant 120 domus & ad omne ſervitium Regis defendebant ſe & geldabant pro 5 hidis ſcil ad opus Huſcarlium Regis dimid. mar. argenti.*

Vid. Doomeſday Hanteſc. *Terra Tainor Regis Subberie tenuerunt* Ednod & Edwi *in alodio de Rege* Edw. *& poſt mortem ejus: ipſimet quoq; mortui. Quidam vero proximus eorum Cola, redemit terram de W. Comite. Modò tenet eam Walterius in vademonio de filio Cole de Baſing.*

†*Vid Leges Ed. Tit. Greve.*

Inter al. Vid Rot. Pat. 13 E. 3. *pars* 1. *d.* 28. ſuch a commiſſion to array men between the Towns of *Salteſs* and *Fowey*. Rot. Parl. 6 E. 3. *N.* 18. ſuch Commiſſions referred to and allowed.

Eſt aſſentus que les Gentz de Holdernes ſoient arreiez taxes & facent aide pur la garde de la Marches Deſcoce, &c. nient contreſtant la commiſſion fait a eux de la garde du Mer.

and

but Servants and *Villains*: whom they liſted, and continued together upon Emergencies.

Beſides, the Kings, as I take it, before the time of *W.* I. us'd not only to have Horſes with their Equipage, for the Reliefs of Heirs that were of full Age at the Death of their Anceſtors, who held of the Crown by Knights Service; but the cuſtody of the Heirs that were Minors; and the providing for the Service: Theſe and other Soldiers they uſed to keep in Gariſon. Many of the Soldiers here in the *Confeſſor's* time were Foreigners; and ſuch even in the time of *W.* I. if we believe the Regiſter of *Abbingdon*, were a great benefit and protection to them that deſired to live in peace. Speaking of the Affairs of *Abbingdon* in thoſe times, the Regiſter has theſe words:

Regiſt. Ab. in Bib. Cot. Sup.

In primordio autem ſui adventus in Abbatiam non niſi armator ſeptus manu militum alicubi procedebat, quidem neceſſario multæ enim novitates conjuratorum indies paſſim contra Regem & Regnum ejus ebullientes univerſos in Anglia ſe tueri cogebant. Tunc Walingaforde & Oxeneforde & Wildeſore, cæterisque locis caſtella pro Regno ſervando compacta unde huic Abbatiæ militum excubias ad ipſum Wildeſore

When the firſt came to the Abby, *he went no whither without being guarded with a number of Arm'd Soldiers: Indeed of neceſſity; for many new Conſpiracies daily breaking out every where againſt the* King *and his Kingdom, compell'd all people in* England *to be upon their guard. Then Caſtles were built at* Wallingford, *and* Oxford, *and* Windſor, *and other places, for the ſafety of the Kingdom, whence it was commanded this*

oppi-

oppidum habendas Regio imperio juſſum. Quare tali in articulo hujus fortunæ, milites tranſmarini in Angliam venientes favore colebantur precipuo.

Abby *by the King's Edict*, to keep Watch and Ward with Soldiers, to the very Town of *Windſor*. *Wherefore at ſuch a point of time*, Foreign *Soldiers coming into* England *were had in chief eſteem.*

* The ſame Regiſter ſhews, that Foreign Soldiers were maintain'd there in Gariſon, and that one of them having no Eſtate in *England*, had, by the King's command, a corrody or ſubſiſtence there during Life.

[b] In a War with the *Scots*, the Abbot of *Abbington* attended *Robert* the King's Son, as 'tis probable with the Soldiers either in Gariſon, or holding of the *Abby*; the Regiſter is expreſs, [c] that upon an Expedition againſt the *Welſh*, almoſt all that Churches Soldiers were commanded to go; and a great Army being prepared upon an Invaſion threatned by the *Danes*, all the *Biſhopricks* and *Abbies* were commanded to ſupply it with Victuals; which yet I take not to have been an Arbitrary impoſition; but in purſuance of the cuſtom before that King's Reign, agreeable to what we find in *Doomeſday-book*, of the *Cuſtoms* of *Berkſhire*.

* *Tunc temporis milites quidam Abendonenſes, Regis pro negotio Normaniam miſſi, cum maris in medio remigrarent a piratis capiuntur, &c. Quorum unus Hermerus nomine, necdum alicujus terræ portionem adeptus, &c. unde in futurum viſitet.* [b]. *Milites hujus Eccleſ. pene omnes proficiſci jubentur* [c]. *Adminiſtrare victualia Regis imperio jubentur.*

Quando

Quando geldum dabatur *T. R. E.* communiter per totam Berochſcire dabat hida 3 *d.* ob. ante Nativ. dom. & tantum ad Pentecoſten. Si Rex mittebat alicubi exercitum, de 5 hidis tantum unus miles ibat: & ad ejus victum vel ſtipendium de unaquaq; hidâ dabant ei 4 *s.* ad duos menſes. Hos verò denarios Regi non mittebant, ſed militibus dabant.

When a Geld was given in general throughout Berkſhire, *one hide gave* 3 *d*½. *at* Chriſtmas, *and as much at* Whitſontide. *If the King ſent an Army any whither, from* 5 *hides, only one Soldier went, and from every hide they gave him* 4 *s. for* 2 *Months for his dyet, or pay. But the money they did not ſend the King, but gave the Soldiers.*

It ſeems to have been the particular privilege of *Berkſhire*, to have had the paying its own Soldiers; but as it ſhould ſeem, other Counties ſent the money to the King, or his Officers, who rais'd the men, or caus'd them to be arrayed. But Gelds for the War, and particularly *Hidage*, ſo far at leaſt as went to the pay of Soldiers, cannot but be thought to have been exacted by virtue of a Parliamentary Eſtabliſhment, before the reputed Conqueſt. And to me it ſeems, that the Law of King *Ina*, ſetting a proportion of Meat and Drink upon every Ten Hides of Land, relates to the Army. In which ſenſe *Henry* of *Huntington*, cited by the Learned *Spelman*, ſays of *W.* II. "He vex'd his Neighbours with War; his "own People with Armies, and continual *Gelds*.

Vid. *Leges Ina c.* 70 *De victu ſuppedit.* and Vid. Gloſ. Tit. Geld. *Vicinos Werra, ſuos exercitibus & geldis continuis vexabat.*

Theſe

Theſe were ſuch as *Bracton* calls *common Preſtations*, in contradiſtinction to Services coming of courſe; theſe, according to him, not being due, but in caſe of neceſſity, or when the King went to War; and were introduced by *Neceſſity, and the Common Conſent of the whole Kingdom.*

Bracton lib. 2. c. 16. *Sunt etiam quædam communes preſtationes quæ ſervitia non dicuntur nec de conſuetudine veniunt, niſi cum neceſſitas intervenerit vel cum Rex venerit, ſicut ſunt hidagia, carvagia, carvagia & alia plura de neceſſitate & conſenſu communi totius regni introducta.*

If any man think that I impoſe upon him with my Conjectures, in relation to the ancient *Gelds*, and particularly *Hidage*, he may with me conſult the *Red Book* in the Exchequer; which ſpeaking of Pyrates from the Iſlands round about, which uſed to infeſt and depopulate the Maritime Places, and particularly the *Danes*, ſays,

Vid. Lib. Rub. in Scio p. Gerv. Tilb. Temp. H. 2.

Ad hos igitur arcendos à Regibus Anglicis ſtatutum eſt, ut de ſingulis hidis regni, jure quodam perpetuo, duo ſolidi argentei ſolverentur, in uſus virorum fortium, qui perluſtrantes & jugiter excubantes maritima, impetum hoſtium reprimerent. Quia igitur principaliter pro Danis inſtitutus eſt hic reditus, Danegeldum vel Danegeldus dicitur.

Therefore for the repelling theſe, 'twas ordain'd by Kings of England, *That* Two Shillings in Silver from every Hide of the Kingdom, *ſhould be paid* by a ſort of Perpetual Right, for the uſe of Valiant Men, who carefully viewing and conſtantly guarding the Maritime Places, *might reſiſt the Inſults of the Enemies. Becauſe therefore this Rent or Tax was inſtituted chiefly by reaſon of the* Danes, *'tis call'd* Danegeld.

Leges Ed. Conf. de Danegeld.

The Confeſſor's Law agrees with this in Subſtance, only makes the Annual Payment but 12 *d. per* Hide, and ſays that every Church, and all the Demeſne Land of the Church, us'd to be free from it.

By *Gervace* of *Tillbury* it appears to have been a conſtant Annual Payment, till the Power and good Government of *Will.* I. ſuppreſſed thoſe Pyrates. That Great Prince, (who has been unduly repreſented as acting like a Conqueror of this Land, as that Author has it,

Noluit hoc ut annuum ſolvi quod fuerat urgente neceſſitate bellicæ tempeſtatis exactum. Nec tamen omnino propter inopinatos caſus dimitti. Rarò ergo temporibus ejus vel ſucceſſor. ipſius ſolutum eſt; hoc eſt, cum ab exteris gentibus bella vel ☞ opiniones bellorum inſurgebant.

Would not that this ſhould be paid as Annual, *which had been exacted by urgent Neceſſity in time of War; nor yet that it ſhould be diſcharg'd, becauſe of ſudden Accidents. Therefore it has ſeldom been paid in the times of him or his Succeſſors; that is, when there aroſe Wars from Foreign Nations, or* apprehenſions *of Wars.*

Selden's Mare Clauſum lib. 2. c. 15.

Mr. *Selden* tells us, That this Tribute or Tax for the Cuſtody of the Sea, which he ſhews to take in Land as well as Sea-Service, us'd to be paid under *W.* I. *W.* II. *H.* I. King *Stephen*; and that it *appears by the Accounts in the Exchequer*, that 'twas ſometimes paid under *H.* II.

He obſerves farther, That after that had ceas'd, ſome other way of the like nature was frequently us'd; that Soldiers Wages, and other Proviſions for the

the defence of the Sea, and Maritime Parts of *England*, might not be wholly wanting.

Pro moribus patriis uſurpari eſt ſolita, ne ſtipendia & commeatus tuenda regni Anglia provincia maritima omnino deeſſent.

And he cites a Record of the Court of Common-Pleas, 25 *E.* I. mentioning Land *agiſted*, or aſſeſſed for the *Cuſtody of the Sea*; under which Name he aſſures us upon his own knowledge, that Wages and Proviſions for *Land-Forces* on the Sea-ſide, were collected.

Scimus quidem etiam ad copiarum in littore terreſtrium ſtipendia & commeatus, ſub id tempus nomine maris corrogari.

As ſome of theſe Taxes were often gathered without an immediate National Conſent, to that very Tax or *Geld*: 'tis no wonder that the People of *England* would not be ſatisfied till they obtained *King John's Charter*, which provides, That no *Eſcuage* nor *Aid*, unleſs for particular *Services*, ſhall be raiſed without Conſent of the *Common Council* of the *Kingdom*; of which *Common Council*, the *City of London*, and other Cities, the Cinque-Ports, Boroughs, and *Vills* (as appears by that Charter, and at laſt is yielded by Dr. *Brady*) were to be a part.

This however, as it ſeems, was but declaratory of the Law, as 'twas as early as the time of *H.* II.; for the great Charter of *H.* III. which as *Matthew Paris* obſerves, was in nothing unlike to, or differing from *King John's*, has no other proviſion about this, but that *Eſcuage* ſhould be taken, as was accuſtomed in the time of *H.* II. But neither of theſe Charters ſeem'd to relate to *Tallage*, which was not of the nature of an Aid, but a Duty upon the King's Demeſnes; and therefore was not within the meaning of

In nullo diſſimilis.

Scutagium de cætero capiatur ſicut capi conſuevit tempore H. avi ſui.

Vid. Jus Anglor. ab antiquo p. 149

the Charter of *W.* I. which declares that all the Freemen of the whole Monarchy of his Kingdom, shall hold their Lands and Poſſeſſions well and in Peace, free from unjuſt Exaction, and *all Tallage*, except their *Free Service*, *which of Right* they owe, and are bound to perform; and as is appointed and granted them by him hereditarily for ever, by the *Common Council* of his whole Kingdom. One of the Free Services of Demeſne Lands, *Tallage* certainly was. The Grievance of which occaſioned the Statute in the time of *E.* I. *de Tallagio non concedendo*, which provided that no *Tallage* or Aid be laid or levied, without the Conſent of the *Lords* and *Commons*.

And yet this ſeems not abſolutely to have taken away that Power which had been exerciſed by the Kings of *England*, to compel men to find Soldiers at their own Charge; to reſiſt Enemies upon the Borders of *England*, or to keep Soldiers in Gariſons, or to guard the Sea-Coaſts; which occaſioned the Law 25 *E.* III. whereby 'twas "*accorded and aſſented*, that "no man ſhall be conſtrain'd to find *Men of Arms*, "*Hoblers*, nor *Archers*, other than thoſe which *hold* "*by ſuch Services*; if it be not by *common Aſſent and* "*Grant made in Parliament*.

Stat. 25. *E.* 3. *c.* 8.

The former ways of ſupplying Emergencies failing, our Kings, upon repreſenting the Charges of keeping the Marches of *Scotland* and *Wales*, and of great Gariſons both at home and abroad, and the like, had, beſides the Revenues of the Crown, which were then very large, frequent Grants from their People, under ſeveral denominations, as Subſidies, Fifteenths, Tenths, *&c.* for the *Defence of the* Kingdom; which ordinarily they and their Counſel were to provide for, according to the beſt of their Judgments. If you ſup-

ſuppoſe that this was to be without keeping up any Standing Forces, even in Gariſons, unleſs in time of actual War; you may as well imagine that when *Tunnage* and *Poundage* were granted for the defence of the Seas, 'twas not intended that any Naval Force ſhould be provided in times of Peace. The ſecuring of which by ſuch ways as the King pleaſes, the * *Lords* and *Commons*, 7 *E.* II. recognize to belong to the King by reaſon of his *Royal Seignory*; and that they are bound to aid him therein as there is occaſion.

* *Stat.* 7. *E.* 2. *Vid. Stat. ed. An.* 1529. *p.* 43. *Nous vions dit que a nous appent, &c. defendre fortement des armes, & tout autre force, contre noſtre pees a toutz les foitz que mes plerra.*

Agreeably to this, 'twas uſual at the beginning of Parliaments, to have Proclamations, That no body ſhould come armed within the *City of London*, or the *Suburbs*, or *other Places about the City*, or Palace of *Weſtminſter*, *except the King's People deputed by him, or his command, for the keeping his Peace there*, and *except his Officers.*

Vid. Rot. Stat. 16. *E.* 3. *n.* 13. *Forſpris les gentz noſtre ſur le Roy, queux il voudra deputer ou per ſon commandment ſerront deputez pur la gard de la pees es ditz lieux: & forſpris les Miniſters le Roy ſolonc la form de leſtat. de Northampton.*

This which you, Gentlemen, would take to be a putting Both Houſes of *Parliament* into the Power of the King (who according to your Infallible Maxim would uſe it to their deſtruction) is declared to be according to the Statute of *Northampton.*

But ſince you are ſo poſitive that till *C.* II. none of our Kings, unleſs *R.* II. had any Standing Force, but in time of War, and particularly that no ſuch thing was *ever* attempted by either Party that prevailed *in the Wars of York and Lancaſter*; one would think, if you had any degree of ingenuity or attention, you would

Hiſtory ſup.

would have had some consideration of the Objection from 13000 Archers granted by Parliament, in the 31st of *H.* VI. to continue together for half a year, and the same Annual Number for two Years successively, 12 & 13 of *E.* IV. That the 13000 Archers granted to *H.* VI. were not raised with regard to any present Foreign War, or Domestick Disturbance in near prospect, is plain by the Circumstances of the Time; it being after *Jack Cade*'s Rebellion had been quell'd, and when *Richard* Duke of *York*, who had before that time intrusted only his chief Confidents with his Aiming at the Crown, having like the *Yorkists* of this Age, cloak'd his Designs with pretence of Zeal for the Liberties of *England*, was, through the Treachery of some, and Folly of others, chosen *Protector* of the Kingdom: which laid the chief foundation of the Publick Calamities that attended his Perjurous, and to him Fatal Claim of a Divine Right, contrary to his most solemn Declarations and Oath.

Vid. 1st Let. p. 30. *citing* Rot. Parl. 12. E. 4. n. 8. & 13. E. 4. n. 41.

Vid. Rot. Parl. 31. H. 6. Jack Cade *and others attainted.*

Vid. *That Claim examined in the Reflections upon a Treasonable Opinion against signing the Association.*

But whatever may be gathered from the Circumstances of the Time, the Act it self shews, that the Provision had regard to no present Danger; for the raising the 13000 men was respited for two Years; "Unless, as the Act says, it please the King to labour "in his own Person for the *Defence* aforesaid; or else "that *great and evident Cause, concerning or touching* "*the Defence* aforesaid, *happen* within the said two "Years, and *that by the* warning of Three Months.

Rot. Parl. 31. H. 6. n. 15.

It appears by the Act 12 *E.* 4. to have been the judgment or apprehension of that Parliament, that by the Stat. 31. *H.* 6. there was a power vested in the Crown, at any time when 'twas found necessary for the *defence* of the Kingdom, to call so many together for once at least, at the charge of the People: and

and therefore when they grant *E.* 4. the like number for a year, they pray that it may pleaſe "the "King to *remit and releaſe* for *him* his *Heirs* and "*Succeſſors*, to the *Commons* their *Heirs and Succeſſors*, "all *right* Exaction and Demand, for the Charge "and finding of 13000 men granted to *H.* 6. during "the time of an half year.

And one of the inducements to their grant of 13000 Archers to *E.* 4. as appears by the *Preamble*, was his "having reduced the *Realm* and his true Sub- "jects of the ſame, *out of the dangerous chances of* "*Battel, into the proſperous and moſt deſired Eſtate of* "*Peace.* 12 *E.* 4. *N.* 10.

But then to ſecure the happy ſtate of peace, they, *calling to remembrance* "the great jeopardy the Realm "ſtandeth in, by the great *conſpired malice* of the E- "nemies environing the ſame, and every part thereof; "*for the Wealth and ſurety* of the *Realm* inward, "and *defence of the ſame outward*, make that Grant: which according to the proviſion 31 *H.* 6. may be thought a Standing Guard to the King's perſon; for that was expreſly required to be kept together in one entire Body.

And it ſeems that anciently Archers uſed to be in conſtant pay; for in the 50*th* of *E.* 3. the Commons having prayed that *Mariners* may have like Wages as *Archers have*; The Anſwer is, It ſhall be *as it hath been uſed.* Rot. Parl. *E.* 3. Rot. Parl. 31 *H.* 6. They ſhall be kept together as one entire Hoſt. Arg. *p.* 16.

Pray, Gentlemen! Be pleaſed to look into the Rolls of thoſe Parliaments, and conſider how you can reconcile 'em with your random-aſſertion, that *the few Guards* C. II. kept, *were the firſt ever known to an Engliſh King, beſides* his *Penſioners* and *Beef-eaters*: And conſider what were the 34000 Foot, and

and 2000 horſe under the Command of the Lord *Hunſdon* which I formerly mentioned to you, that *Q. Elizabeth* had for the guard of her perſon: Did ſhe think the hearts of her People enough to ſecure her *Empire*? Or were ſuch as flock'd about her Coach when the Duke of *Alanſon* went with her through the City, the only *Guard who defended her through a long and ſucceſsful Reign of* 44 *years, againſt all the machinations of* Rome, *the power of* Spain, &c.?

Vid. Letter *p.* 30. Vid. rg *p.* 25. *p.* 26.

Or were the *Militia* all the Soldiers ſhe made uſe of for the defence of the Kingdom? when, as I formerly obſerv'd to you, beſides the Guard laſt mentioned, and 20000 placed on the Coaſts of *Suſſex*, which I take to have been *Militia*; She had an Army of well *diſciplined and experienced* men, under the command of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, conſiſting of 1000 Horſe, and 12000 Foot, encamped at *Tilbury*.

1ſt Letter *p.* 30.

Theſe, Gentlemen! acted by the Queen's Commiſſion, and were a *Standing Army* within the very Letter of your *definition*.

Though you were ſo confident, that if *C. I.* had had 5000 men beforehand with the people, they *had never ſtruck a ſtroke for their Liberties*; I had before ſhewn you that he had above 7000 in the Third of his Reign, which were kept in *England* that Winter.

Arg *p.* 14. Vid. 1ſt Letter *p.* 37. Citing *Ruſhworth* f. 19. 427. 463. Of Forces in *Ireland*. Hiſt. *p.* 3.

You admit a neceſſity of *Standing Armies* in *Ireland*, if we would not loſe the *Engliſh* Government there; yet you would have it thought, that the *Parliaments* of *England* have been ſo far from regarding that neceſſity, that becauſe of the greater danger from our Kings at home, they would not ſuffer our Kings to *keep up an Army* there: that in the

the firſt Three hundred years that the *Engliſh* had poſſeſſion of that Country, there were no Armies, but in the times of War, and that the firſt Force that was Eſtabliſh'd, was in the 14*th* of *E.* 4. by Parliament there.

At leaſt, one of you, Gentlemen! might have known enough of the place of his Birth, had not his Education been Foreign, to have prevented ſuch groſs miſtakes concerning it; but certainly it ſhews an admirable underſtanding to ſearch for the firſt Eſtabliſhment of Forces in *Ireland*, in the *Iriſh* Statute Book; and becauſe no Eſtabliſhment can be found there earlier than 14 *E.* 4. to conclude that the Parliaments of *England* had made no Eſtabliſhment for *Ireland* ſooner; and that, notwithſtanding the acknowledgment of the *Iriſh* Parliament, of the *vaſt and almoſt infinite expence* of Men, Money, Victuals, and Arms, ſent out of *England* thither by *C.* I. and his Progenitors.

Iriſh Act for Subſidies. 11 *C.* 1.

Any man that will look into *Cotton*'s Abridgment, if he thinks it not worth his while to ſee the Parliament Rolls at large, may find numerous inſtances of Parliamentary Eſtabliſhments, for Forces in *Ireland*, before the time you mention; but the number of Forces were generally left to the diſcretion of the Kings and their Councils.

Thus 5 *E.* 3. 'twas fully accorded that the King ſhould paſs thither in perſon; and that in the mean time *a power be* ſent thither, and command be given that all "ſuch as have any Lands there, repair "thither for defence of the ſame.

Cotton Abr. Rot. Parl. 5 *E.* 3. *n.* 4.

In the next Parliament the King's Expedition was deferr'd for another year, ſo as *aid might be ſent in the mean time.*

Rot. Parl. 2 R. 2. N. 14. 24. 29. 30. 7 R 2. n. 5. 14. R. 2. n. 1. 21 R 2. n. 44. and 75. Rot. Parl. 1 H. 4. Rot. Parl. 1 H. 5. n. 9. *Vid.* Cotton's *Abr.*

Richard the 2*d* in several Parliaments, among other charges of the Government, mentions *Ireland*; and the Parliaments here make several Grants, according to the occasions. 1 *H.* 4. they give a subsidy upon Wooll for 3 years, besides one 10th, and one 15th towards the Wars with *Scotland*, defence of *Calis*, provision for *Ireland*, and amendment of the State.

And it seems that *Cedules* or Lists used to be given in of the several Establishments; but not being upon the Parliament Rolls are not now to be found; 'tis certain that the Parliament Roll 1 *H.* 5. says, "the "Commons give a *Cedule* for provision to be made "touching *Ireland*, the *Marches* of *Wales*, of *Scot*-"*land*, and of *Calice*, touching the *Dutchy* of *Guyenne*, "the safe keeping of the Seas, the Navy of *England*, "and Governance and due Observance, and for sure "provision to be made in Form following.

But no Form is to be found. Indeed certain it is, that generally from the time that *H.* 2. reduced it to a more absolute Subjection to *England*, than any of his Prededessors had done, Soldiers were kept there in constant pay; and when the Revenue of the Crown could not, with the help of *Irish* Parliaments, bear the charge, the Parliaments here have contributed. No man can imagine that *H.* 2. left no *English* Garisons upon his bringing the generality of the Nation under the *English* Laws: but besides these the Parliaments of *England* establisht considerable Forces there by Tenures:

Vid. The History and Reasons of the dependency of *Ireland.* Hoveden f. 324.

In a Parliament at *Oxford*, that King distributed the Lands of *Ireland*, and their Services; then 'twas that a Grant was made of the County of *Methe* to *Hugh de Lacy*, and his Heirs, as Sir *John Davy*'s has it, to

to hold by the ſervice of 50 Knights. But *Benedictus Abbas*, an Author of the Time, makes 'em 100. and beſides ſays the King gave *Lacy* the cuſtody of the City of *Dublin*, which being no part of that for which he did his ſervice, had certainly a ſufficient Gariſon at the charge of the Crown.

Davy's his Rep. f. 64. *b.* *M. S.* In Bib. Cot. An. 1172. *Interea Rex dedit & conceſſit & carta ſuâ confirmavit Hugoni de Laſci totam terram de Mida cum pertin. ſuis tenend. in feodo & hareditate de ipſo Rege & hared. ſuis per ſervitium C. militum & tradidit ei cuſtodiam civitat Dublin.*

Whereas you will have it, that our Parliaments *would never ſuffer our Kings to keep up an Army in* Ireland, *knowing they would be in* England *when call'd for*; This conſideration appears to have been one good reaſon for keeping Forces there. The frequent Wars with the Natives having made their aſſiſtance with regular Troops of very great conſequence to *England*. Thus in the Time of *H.* 3. ſucceſs againſt the *Welſh* was owing to aid from thence.

Hiſt. f. 3.

Cox's Hiſt. of *Ireland*. f. 65. An. 1244.

In *Edward* the firſt's time a *ſmart Party* from thence as the Hiſtorian calls 'em, did that King good ſervice in *Scotland*.

f. 85. An. 1295. Ib. f. 100.

And *E.* 2. had from thence in a War againſt the *Scots* 300 men at Arms, 1000 Hoblers, 6000 Foot, armed with a Seton, a Sallet, and Gloves of Mail, beſides 300 ſupplied by the Earl of *Ulſter*.

An. 1323.

Still if you pleaſe abound in your own ſenſe, That 120 Archers, 40 Horſemen, and 40 Pages, 14 *E.* 4. was the firſt Force *eſtabliſhed* in *Ireland*.

Hiſt. *p.* 3.

As to that Body of Men which you ſay *C.* 2. left, I would deſire you to reconcile your *Hiſtory* to your *Argument*.

Argument, p. 16.
Speaking of C. 2's *Guards.*
"He insensibly increased their Number, till "he left a Body of Men "to his Successor, great "enough to tell the Parliament, he would be "no longer bound by the "Laws he had sworn to.

History, p. 17.
Speaking of the D. of Monmouth's *Defeat.*
"King *James* took occasion from hence to increase his Army to between fifteen and sixteen "thousand men, and *then* "*unmask'd himself*, call'd "a Parliament, and in an "haughty Speech told "them he had increas'd his Army, put in Officers "not qualified by the Test, and that he would not "part with them.

P. 34. The utmost number you make C. 2.'s Forces increas'd to, is 6950: according to your Argument with these King *James* ventur'd to deal so freely with his Parliament; but now it seems you have better thought of it, he attempted it not without more than twice the number: But you know great Wits have not the best Memories.

But your Strain of Wit I must confess is admirable, to make the supposed want of opportunities of being rightly inform'd, and the possibility that Officers may recruit, an Argument that you may fairly represent His Majesty's Forces what you please, or as many as if there had been no Reform: Thus you assume a Privilege of adding above Nine thousand to the Forces now in *England*. And with the like Fairness you leave about 3000 which had been in Garison at *Tangier*, out of the Comparison you make between the Forces of C. II. and His present *Majesty*.

Note, *the History makes the Total* 24741. *Lord* Ranelagh's *List but* 14834 *besides* 4 *Companies of maimed and decrepid Soldiers,* 150 *in a Company.*

How decently you treat His Majesty, may appear in many Particulars: I may here instance in your Reflection,

flection, after the giving your imaginary number of His Forces. P. 35. P. 31.

"If, ſay you, the Prince of *Orange*, inſtead of telling us, That we ſhould be ſettled upon ſuch a "Foundation, that there ſhould be no danger of falling into Slavery, and that he would ſend back all "his Forces as ſoon as that was done; had promis'd "us, That after an Eight Years War (which ſhould "leave us in Debt near Twenty Millions.) we ſhould "have a Standing Army eſtabliſh'd, a great many of "which ſhould be Foreigners; I believe few men would "have thought ſuch a Revolution worth the hazard "of their Lives and Eſtates. P. 37.

Whatever is contained in this Reflection, poſſibly you may help your ſelves off with your Imagination, that no ſuch thing has yet happen'd, for that there is no Eſtabliſhment of any Forces; If it be true what you are ſo warm upon, That there's no other Eſtabliſhment of any Forces, but a Vote of the Houſe of Commons, to give Money *for Guards and Gariſons*. I wiſh, Gentlemen, your Heat would have given you time to look into the Act of the laſt Seſſion of the laſt Parliament; which in purſuance of that Vote provides *for and towards, the Payment and Satisfaction of ſuch Sum and Sums of Money, as are or ſhall be due, owing, or payable* [*for Land and Sea-Services, perform'd and to be perform'd*] *and the Charges and Expences relating thereunto.* P. 25. *Stat.* 9 & 10 *W.* 3.

This you may ſay in your Paſſion is *what our Courts for above a Thouſand Years together had never Effrontery enough to ask:* But, Gentlemen, if after you have conſidered the Account which I have laid before you of ſuch like Proviſions for Land-Forces, you ſhould ſtill maintain the ſame Opinion, the World will judge on which ſide the *Effrontery* lies. P. 26.

I can-

I cannot think that when you have thought again of these matters, you will repeat your Assertion, That the first Footsteps of a Standing Army, that is, according to your own definition, and the description in that very Page, Forces in the King's Pay in time of Peace, were in *R.* II.'s time; and that you *don't find any King from him to* C. I. *that attempted keeping up any Forces in time of Peace, except the Yeomen of the Guard.*

Which is a Mistake much of the same kind with your Assertion, That the *Foreigners* which came over with His Majesty, *is the first Foreign Army* that ever set foot in *England*, *but as Enemies*; by which you must mean as Enemies to *England*, if you would make any thing of the Reflection: But then what think you of the *Britons* of *France*, and of the *Saxons* afterwards, which came to the relief of the *Britons* here? The 2000 which came over with *E.* 4. against *H.* 6. and the like number with *H.* 7. against *R.* 3.

Vid. Antiq. Brit. de An. 436. *Pol. Virgil, f.* 212. *Ib. f.* 559.

This leads me to the Pertinency of your History, and Strength of your Reasons; which I may well join in one Head, as they illustrate each other, for if the Premises are not to the purpose, your Inferences will fall to the ground; and if you infer not rightly, even where your Premises are the most uncontested, people will be very apt to question their Pertinency to the matter for which you bring 'em.

Of the Pertinency of their History, and Strength of their Reasons.

Suppose you give a true Account of the Land-Forces of Old *Rome* and *England*; is it not proper to enquire what was in those Times the Posture of Affairs in relation to the Nations round about? Did any other Land exceed in Numbers of Subjects, and Regularity of Troops? Did it entertain an Abdicated *Prince*, and give him hopes of a powerful assistance for his Re-

Reſtoration? Were the *Seat of power*, and other places of the greateſt Wealth and Reſort, left open and almoſt defenceleſs, otherwiſe than with the Bodies of men? Or were there many Caſtles and fortified Towns? If ſuch there were in *England* at the times which you refer to, and are wanting now, when a Neighbouring Prince equals us in Naval, and far over-tops us in Land-Forces, what could be inferr'd from your Hiſtory, if true, with greater Strength or Pertinency, than your fine Satyr upon the Reign of *J.* I.? who by the help of *Toryiſm*, which then began its Empire, was Arbitrary without either Courage or Army: which is never wanting to ſubdue thoſe *Paſſive Natures*, ſeiz'd with that vain *Superſtition*, which makes Kings as terrible as the like fear does the Pagan Deities. According to your Hiſtory, through this Superſtition *C.* 1. ventured upon all thoſe *Oppreſſions* of his Reign, which as you ſay 'twere *endleſs to enumerate*: But you know his Tyranny was *precarious*, becauſe he had *no Army to ſupport him.* *Vid. Hiſt.* P. 3, 4, 5. P. 6.

The ſeveral Mutations which you pathetically deſcribe in the time when your *Utopian* State began, certainly yield a ſtronger Argument of the Vanity of ſuch Projects, than of a *Standing Army*'s being *Slavery*, Popery, *&c.* Then the Nation could not but be in a perpetual Agitation, and a ſmall Acceſſion of Strength to either of the contending Parties, muſt needs turn the uncertain Scale, till it came to its Center of *Monarchy*. In King *Charles* II. you ſhew an Arbitrary Diſpoſition, and love to Popery; and that he was poſſeſſed of an Army of 12000 men, which *were encamped upon* Black-Heath, *and hovering over the City of* London; yet 'tis your own confeſſion, that theſe *put both the Parliament and City in ſuch confuſion, that he was forc'd to diſband them.* P. 1. P. 13.

How.

How came it to paſs, that if *C.* I. had had but 5000 *before-hand with us, the Nation could not have ſtruck one ſtroke for their Liberties*; and yet this Nation forc'd *C.* II. to disband 12000, tho at the ſame time he had
P. 14. 10000 *more in the* French *Service, for the moſt part under Popiſh Officers?* Would all thoſe, and particularly the Lord *Dunbarton*, have been as generous as *General Schomberg*, in ſcorning to *put Chains upon a Free People?*

The Duke of *Monmouth's* Misfortune was to be attributed to many Cauſes; however, the Succeſs of the *Regular Troops* againſt his Numbers, which all muſt agree to have been as good as the *Militia*, and headed by an extraordinary *General*; leaves a *ſad Proſpect* of the conſequence of an Invaſion, when there are no *Regular Troops* to make a Stand, and head the *Militia*, or others, that ſhould draw together from all parts.

But tho the *late King* was fluſh'd with Succeſs, and had made a great addition to his Armies; the Reception which His *preſent Majeſty* had, without oppoſition, ſhews that a great Army cannot eſtabliſh *Popery* and *Slavery* in *England*: And yet the very few that came in to His *preſent Majeſty*, or were in any Military Preparation in the *North*, tho he gave 'em Encouragement and Opportunity, may leave it a queſtion, Whether a *Foreign Popiſh Army* would be likely to meet with conſiderable oppoſition from one of a cer-
Vid. Confut. of the Ballancing Letter, p. 12. tain Perſon's *Millions*, who if it could be Mr. *J*——*n*, ſo eminent for his Zeal and Sufferings againſt Popery, and thoſe *Doctrines of the Bow-ſtring*, which would introduce that, or *Mahometiſm*, much more eaſily than an Army of 40000 *Proteſtants* can poſſibly do; I cannot but ſay 'twere an unhappy Evidence, that

that the greateſt Minds may at ſome times be clouded.

But ſince that Writer's Fears lye wholly the ſame way with yours, 'tis natural to think that his Hopes do too; and therefore I may be allowed to treat his envenom'd Dart as taken from your Quiver, and dipt in the ſame Poyſon.

Upon his State of the Queſtion, Whether the Militia as 'tis at preſent, and the whole Strength of *England* beſides, is ſufficient to oppoſe an Invaſion, without a Standing Army? he ſuppoſes, 1. That tho there ſhould be no force together, 'twere eaſy to form an Army of the diſbanded Soldiers and others, and to put them in order time enough to reſiſt any Invaſion. P. 1.

2. That all men will be united in this.

3. That upon an Invaſion, we have 20000 ready enough to entertain an Enemy, tho they do not ſtand regimentally together; and we have 30000 as well finiſh'd Soldiers as they; and an hundred and fifty thouſand more, that either are, or ſoon may be, as good as either of them; and ſome Millions of Able Men, who when they are tried, may behave themſelves as well as any of them all. Nay, he grows upon it, and afterwards ſays, In Seven Millions we have ſo great choice, that if One Million will not fight to defend their Native Country, Another will, and a Third may ſee fair Play, and a Fourth is a good Reſerve, and ſo are all the reſt. P. 11. P. 21.

But if Mr. *J*——*n* be the Author of that Book, as he ſadly experimented how far a ſort of People are from being True *Engliſhmen*; whether the Dread of Foreign Popery will unite them that contributed to it at home; and whether his Suppoſition here agrees with his Notion, That all Strangers within this Land are to be look'd on as Enemies; and that there's an *Engliſhman* the leſs for every one of them; I muſt recommend to his unclouded Thoughts. And I would deſire him to conſider, whether the Inſtances are frequent, of Nations, how Populous ſoever, that have drawn ſeveral Armies into the Field one

after another, notwithstanding the Defeat of their best Troops, on which they chiefly depended.

And I would gladly know, whether 'tis reasoning like Mr. J—— n, to say,

The new Trust the Letter (he pretends to confute) *insists upon, is an Army which can over-power and conquer the Nation:* For it is to be such a *Force as can withstand an Invasion which all the Nation besides is not able to do; that is to say, it can beat those that can beat us, and therefore it can much more beat us.* I would desire him but to remember his own State of the Question in relation to the *Militia*, and apply it to such Forces as the Parliament should think fit to continue. This would have moderated his Censures of them who are for some Regular Forces, as if they endeavour *to alter the Government at once: go about to Arm the King against the Constitution*; put a Trust in the King which no man *can deserve*; are for *such an absolute Resignation*, as is only *proper to be made to God*; and for the establishing such a Force *as is an actual Surrender of all our Liberties at once*, &c. *and would make us as effectual Slaves as a Conquest can make us.* All these flights of Fancy are grounded upon a manifest begging the question; and some will think are heightned with not a few Grains of Prejudice, against the Person who is taken for the Author of that Letter.

Pref. P. 9. P. 16.

Something for certain is the cause that makes the whole frame of this Book widely to differ from Mr. J. in Reasoning, tho it resembles his Stile: Thus the Author would infer that a King of *England* has not absolute Power, because he was empowered by the *Folcmote*; by the same way of arguing he might conclude that the *Roman* Emperors were not absolute, because as the *Lex Regia* has it, *the people conferr'd all their Power upon 'em:* But 'tis not the Gift as such, but the degree and manner of it, which makes the Power absolute or limited; and therefore we say a K. of *England* is not absolute, because the People have not made such

ſuch a Reſignation of themſelves as the *Romans* did to the *Cæſars*, or particularly to *Auguſtus*.

But you, Gentlemen, know how to comfort him with the aſſurance, that his Arguments are never the weaker, for the juſteſt Objections; according to that Noble Paradox, *My Aſſertions are not the leſs ſolid, becauſe ſome people are Cowards, and others now unaccuſtomed to what their Anceſtors ſucceſsfully practis'd heretofore.* *Milit. ref.* p. 67.

Great Wits can reconcile all differences in Perſons, Times, and other Circumſtances; make Cowards valiant, and diſcipline their Militia in a moment, to equal Troops the moſt inured to War; and inſpire their Principles of Liberty into the *Bigots* for the *Divine Right*, of the next in the Royal Line, to a Power which the People neither gave, nor can limit or qualify.

I am not in the leaſt ſurpriz'd to find you, Gentlemen, confound Things and Perſons, make *Tories* of *Whigs*, and *Whigs* of *Tories*; any more than I am to find that Advocate for unbounded Liberty, Mr. *J. T.* with decent regard to an Act of Parliament, to charge the Presbyterians with being acceſſary to Perſecution, in joining with others the laſt Parliament, to promote Penal Laws againſt thoſe that deny the Myſteries of Chriſtianity: nor do I wonder at his mighty concern for *High Church*, leſt by a prudent Comprehenſion the Profits ſhould be divided, and the Proteſtant Intereſt ſtrengthned and united under King *William*. When he pretends to expreſs the Wiſhes of all *Good Men* againſt a Comprehenſion, and for the National Church eſtabliſh'd by Law to engroſs the Profits, he leaves it a queſtion, Whether *Socinianiſm*, whoſe Suppreſſion he dreads, is not dearer to him even than a *Commonwealth*, which he with all his Art can never propoſe to ſet up on ſo narrow a bottom. However, 'tis evident Mr. *Harrington* never did; whoſe *Oceana*, or *Agrarian*, and new jumbling *Life of* J. Milton, *p.* 77, 78. *By reaſon of the Presbyterians warmly joining with others the laſt Parliament to promote Penal Laws againſt the* Socinians, *I find few people will believe that thoſe in* England *differ from their Brethren in* Scotland *about Perſecution*, &c. P. 79. After ridiculing the Project of a Comprehenſion — *The Wiſhes of all good men are, that the National Church being ſecured in her Worſhip and Emoluments*, &c.

Life of M p. 122. of Property, Mr. *J. T.* recommends as the *most perfect* Form of a Commonwealth, for *the Practicableneſs, Equality, and Compleatneſs of it, that ever was delineated by any Ancient or Modern Pen.*

But ſhould Mr. *J—n*'s Fears lye all one way, againſt nothing but the Power of King *William*; ſhould he forget from whence the Barbarities inflicted upon him came, and whence his Deliverance; how far *Church Bigottry* advanced to the Ruin of the Conſtitution, and how 'twas preſerv'd by a Foreign Force; would not ſome impute his new Fears to a turning of his Brain; eſpecially when they come to obſerve how groſly he, if he writ the pretended Confutation, miſtakes the Authorities which he urges againſt a General Act of Naturalization, and the admitting Strangers among us?

Of their Miſtakes concerning the Conſtitution of this Monarchy.

It has ſufficiently appear'd above, and might more fully, that your Reflections upon the Miniſtry for their endeavours to have a ſufficient *Land-Force*, under Parliamentary Regulations and Eſtabliſhment, are grounded upon groſs miſtakes of the Conſtitution, as it relates to Soldiery. Nor will you be found more knowing in other Branches of it.

Pref. to the Hiſt. p. 4. According to your exact knowledge of all its Particulars, from the time that the *Romans* quitted this Iſle, you affirm, That *the Places in the King's Gift were but few, and moſt of them Patent-Places for Life:* To enhance the Charge againſt the Court for making more Places than us'd to be, you bring in the Commiſſioners for Hackney-Coaches, and other Officers, whoſe Numbers are appointed by Act of Parliament; and therefore muſt needs be held to have been without any breach of the Conſtitution: As to others 'twill be very difficult to ſhew that there are more now in the King's Gift, than his Predeceſſors uſed to have. Certain 'tis, 1. That there were many Offices which are wholly diſcontinued, or not in the Crown, becauſe of the alienation of thoſe Hundreds, Bayliwicks, Mannors, *&c.* on which they depend; and others,

P. 5.

which

which tho kept up in Name, have very insignificant Salaries or Perquisites; for which I chuse to instance in Military Offices, such as the Government of Castles and Towns formerly fortified. 2. Many of your Friends now enjoy Offices either during Life, or as long as they behave themselves well; some of which according to ancient Custom, were to be only during pleasure; and others are void, as being held by colour of *non obstante's* to Statutes: Of which I can, when occasion requires, shew great numbers.

Therefore I may conclude, that according to the Constitution, the King and the Court ought to have the disposal of more Offices, than they now take upon them to dispose of.

Again, you say, *Our Government trusts the King with no part of the Legislative, but a Negative Voice.* *Pref.* p. 7.

Whereby you would take from the King the liberty to propose; which, if you consult the Rolls of Parliament, and other Records, you will find to have been the undoubted Right of the Crown; and indeed it might with as much colour be said, that anciently the Lords and Commons us'd only a Negative, when the Bills were proposed ready drawn by the King's Council: But 'tis past dispute that either proposed to the other, as there was occasion.

Then you affirm with great assurance, that *formerly* all "matters of state and discretion were debated and resolv'd "in the Privy-Council, where every man subscrib'd his "Opinion, and was answerable for it: And that the Late "King *Charles* was the first who broke this most excellent "part of our Constitution, by setling a Cabal or *Cabinet* "*Council.* Whereas, *Vid. Rot. Parl. de 1 H. 6.*

1. The substance of the Cabinet Council has been very ancient, and that allowed of by Parliament, as appears by their settling a *Quorum* of persons most confided in, without whose presence no arduous matter was to be determined; and yet they had power to act without consulting the rest of the Council. Thus

Thus as long since as the 28th of *H.* 3. a Charter pass'd, in affirmance of the Ancient Right of the [b]Kingdom, which provided that 4 great Men chosen by *common assent*, who were to be Conservators of the Kingdom, among other things should [c] see to the disposing of the Monies given by Parliament, and appropriated to particular uses; and [d] Parliaments were to be summon'd as they should advise. But even of [e] these four any two made a *Quorum*; and [f] generally the Chief Justice of *England*, and Chancellor were of the number of the Conservators, or in the Modern Language, of the *Cabinet Council*. Not particularly to observe the resemblances to this in the Ages downwards; In the [g] first of *H.* 6. the Parliament provides that the *Quorum* for the Privy *Council* be 6 or 4 at the least; and that in all weighty Consultations the *Dukes* of *Bedford* and *Gloster*, the King's Uncles, should be present.

Vid. Mat. Par. 28 H. 3. *De communi assensu quatuor eligantur potentes & nobiles.* [b] *Et erunt libertatum Conservatores.* [c] *Per visum & testimonium eorum tractetur Thesaurus domini Regis & pecunia ab universis specialiter concessa ad commodum domini Regis & Regni expendatur, &c.* [d] *Nec sine ipsis sed cum necesse fuerit & ad eorum instantiam iterum conveniant universi* [e] *Et si non omnes duo ad minus presentes sint, &c.* [f] *Et quia frequenter debent esse cum duo Rege poterunt esse de numero Conservatorum.* [g] Rot. Parl. 1. H. 6. n. 30. n. 31

2. 'Twill be difficult for you to find the least footsteps of any Constitution, requiring the *Council* to subscribe their Opinions. Indeed as early as 1 *H.* 6. there's a provision suitable to the practice at this day, for the *Clerk* of the *Council* to enter, who was present from time to time, that it might be seen, as the Roll has it, *what Law, and by whom any thing passeth.*

Rot. Parl. 1 H. 6. n. 32.

Since this is done at this day, this reflection vanishes with the rest of like grounds; nor will your Friend the Author of the suppos'd *Confutation*, appear either to know the Constitution better, or to represent it more fairly, in relation to *Foreigners*, he says indeed, "That the Wisdom "of the Nation in former Ages, by which we subsist at "this day, was against the admitting any Aliens into the "Kingdom, unless it were Merchants for the sake of Com-"merce, and they too were restrain'd in these two points, "besides divers others, not to take an House, nor stay above "40 days,

Of Foreigners in England. Confutation p. 25.

" 40 days, as we find by the *London* Petition, reciting the " Ancient Uſages, and the Act made upon it 5 *E.* 3.

'Tis but juſt that he who would render his Native Country ſo inhoſpitable, ſhould ſtumble at the Threſhold; for,

Rot. Parl. 50. E. 3. *De fair leur demeure outre 40 jours la. Reſp. Deins la dict, &c.*

1. Both the Petition and Anſwer relate only to the City of *London*, and its Suburbs.

2. The Anſwer even in relation to *London*, excepts ſome Foreigners, *ſaving to the Merchants of the Hanſe of* Allemain, the *Franchiſes* granted them, and *confirm'd* by *E.* 3 *ds Progenitors*. Whether this be an honeſt Quotation, or rightly underſtood by this Celebrated Author, I leave you to judge.

Indeed he might have cited the *Mirror* with better colour; which ſpeaking of Laws made by King *Alfred*, and following Kings ſays," All Merchant Aliens were forbid to " frequent *England*, except at 4 Fairs; nor were any of " them to ſtay in the Land above 40 days.

Mirror. c. 1. Sect. 3. *Defendus fuiſtquaunl Merchant alien, &c.*

This at firſt ſight looks like an Authority his way; but take it with the *Mirrors* Explanation, and 'twill appear that no man was to continue an Alien 40 days; but if he ſtaid ſo long, was to take the Oath of Allegiance, and from that time he became a Liege and Natural Subject; for the *Mirror* among the abuſions of the Law, reckons it one, " That any one above the Age of 14 years, whether *Engliſh or Alien*, ſhould be ſuffer'd to ſtay in the Realm, *if* " *he be not ſworn to the King*, by Oath of Fealty, and Frank " pledge, and in a Tithing.

Mirror. p. 283. A-buſion. *b. Anglois eu alien. Sil ne ſoit jure al Roy per ſerement de fealty & plevije & en daſcune.*

This ſhews that in the Eye of the Law they are the true Aliens, and out of the King's Protection, who will not Swear Allegiance to him.

And the *Mirror* ſhews how miſtaken this Confuter was, in urging the Law of Frank pledges, to prove that in ſuch a Conſtitution " 'twas impoſſible for a ſtranger to thruſt " in his *Noſe*.

Cnof *p.* 26.

As 'twas not impoſſible for Foreigners to be known to their Correſpondents here, and to be confederated with them

Leges Canuti c. 52. Habeat omnis dominus familiam ſuam in plegio ſuo. Vid. Leges Alvredi c. 30.

them by mutual Oaths, for the defence of the King and Kingdom; 'twas far from being impoſſible, that *Engliſh* men ſhould be bound for the good behaviour of ſuch Strangers: and then Merchants and other Strangers of Quality, might retain many with them in their Families, by virtue of the Law, which made every *Maſter of a Family* the *Pledge*, or Sponſor for his own *Family*.

Coram præpoſito Regio in frequenti populi conventu. Quæ ex æquo jure coacta populi concione quæſita fuerint.

And I would deſire you, or the *Confuter*, to tell me your ſenſe of King *Alfred*'s Law about Merchants, which provides, "That Merchants carry before the King's Officer "in *a full Convention of the people*, thoſe whom they bring "to Land with them out of the Ship; and ſhew their num- "ber, and then they may retain them with them, to have "them ready to anſwer all thoſe things which ſhall be de- "manded, *according to Law*, in the *Aſſembly of the People*.

This I take to relate to the monthly Aſſembly of the People at the County Court, or the uſual Court day in any City or Town where they arrived: and according to the Explanation of this which we may take from the Mirror, they were to be demanded whether they would take the Oath of Allegiance, or depart the Kingdom.

Vid. Graft. Ann. 1206.

Farther yet, to ſhew how the Notion of *Aliens* is miſtaken, it ſeems a great Queſtion, whether in the Eye of the Law, from within the Time of King *John*, to the making the Statute *De Prerogativa Regis*, any were *truly Aliens*, but ſuch as were of the *Allegiance of the King* of *France*, *and had not ſworn Allegiance to the King of* England. *Philip* King of *France*, having wreſted *Normandy* out of the hands of the *Engliſh*. 7 of *King John*, then, or ſome ſhort time after, a Law was made, which by way of Repriſal, Veſted in the Crown of this Realm, the Lands which the *Normans* had here: which were *called the Eſcheats of the* Normans.

Thus

Thus I find *Breweton* said to be of the Lands of the *Normans*, and Granted out by King *John*, and the Manour of *Warblinton*, said to be the Kings *Escheat*, as being Land belonging to *Normans*.

* *Vid. Test. de* Nevil *temp. E.* 1.

The Statute supposed to be made, 17. *E.* 2. tho' I take it to have been made in 17. *E.* 1. declaring the Kings *Prerogative* in some particulars, says, the 'King shall have the *Escheat* of the Lands of 'Normans, of whose Fee soever they be. *It adds* 'so 'tis to be understood, *If any Inheritance Descend* 'to any born in Forein Parts, and whose Ancestors 'were of the Allegiance of the King of France, *from* 'the time of King John, *and not of the Allegiance* 'of the King of England.

In scio De Escaetis, de Terris Normannorum. Escaeta dni Regis sicut Terra Normannorum.

By this it seems there might be a Double *Allegiance*; and he who had been born in *France* and swore to that King, might, by Residing and Swearing Allegiance here, *cease to be an Alien*, within the meaning of that Law. And * *Bracton*, who writ in the Reign of *H.* 3. Treating of the Exception, *because an Alien*, says, 'there are those that are 'of the Allegiance of *both Kings*, as *William Earl* 'Marshal, Residing in *England*, and *Michael de* 'Seins Residing in *France*, and others.

* *Bracton lib.* 5. De Exceptione quia alienigena.

But it seems by *Bracton*, that in his time, they who were only of the Allegiance of the King of *France*, * might recover *Lands and Tenements*, in an Action at Law, when there was Peace between the two Kingdoms: Tho' till the Statute *De natis ultra mare* *, which allows of the Certificate of a *French* Bishop to prove Legitimation; the Son of an *English*-man born when his Father were abroad, even upon [illegible]handizing, or in an Ambassadors House, could not be proved Heir in a real Action, for

* *Bracton* ib. Talis non respondeatur, saltem donec terræ sint communes. * Stat. 25. *E.* 3.

want of such a Certificate as our Law could take notice of; yet I take it to be beyond question, that all *Aliens* residing in *England*, and qualifying themselves by the Oath requir'd of Resyants, if they were not of the *Allegiance of the King of France*, might Purchase Lands in *England*, which should descend to their Heirs, till at least the 17*th.* of *E.* 1. By *Littletons* time, who Writ in the Reign of *E.* 4. the Law was taken to reach farther against men Born beyond Sea than before, for by that time, all who were born *out of the King's Allegiance* were counted *Aliens*, not excepting those whose Fathers and Mothers, are *English*: contrary to the opinion of the Learned Judge *Hussey* in the time of *R.* 3. who held, that by the *Common Law*, and *especially by the Statute*, such are *Denizens*.

Littleton Sect. 198.

1 *R.*3. f. 4.

Of Acts of Naturalization, and Natural born Subjects.

But the General Opinion now being otherwise, many of *English* Parents have had recourse to Acts of *Naturalization*, the Forms of some of which only declare them *Liege and Natural Subjects*; which possibly is not thought of by some, who would not only Exclude Foreiners, but many of the Kings *Natural Subjects* of *English* Parents, from the Priviledges of *English* Men: not thinking of Sir *William Temples* Maxim, that a good Government ought to resemble a *Pyramid* with as large a Basis as may be.

Vid. *Will. Temples* Miscellanies. p. 23.

But a *General Act of Naturalization*, the *Confuter* 'says is, 'a Project so contrary to our Constitution, that he who has the Original *Magna Charta*, 'with King *John's* Seal to it, may find there, if he 'pleases to look into it, *this Original English Right*, 'that all Strangers shall be amoved out of the 'Kingdom,

To

To me, who had not only ſeen Prints of *King* John's *Charter*, but examined as diligently as I could, that in the *Cotton Library*, (which is no leſs an *Original*, for not now having the King's Seal to it) this Aſſertion ſeem'd very ſtrange; eſpecially finding there theſe Clauſes.

Vid. D. Brady's Append. to his comp. Hiſtory upon comparing Mat. Par. with the Hiſt in Bennet Colledge Library.

50. 'Let *all Merchants*, unleſs ſuch as are pub-'lickly Prohibited, be ſafe and ſecure to go *out of* 'England, and *come into England*, and *to go as well by* 'Land as by Water, to Buy or Sell, without any man-'ner of evil Tolls, according to the *ancient* and *right* 'Cuſtoms: Unleſs *in time of War*, and that they be of 'a Land in a War againſt us.

51. 'And if ſuch are found in our Land, at the 'beginning of a War, let them be attach'd *without* 'damage of their bodies or Goods, till it be known 'by *us* or our *Chief Juſtice*, how the *Merchants* of 'our Land are treated in the Land at War againſt 'us: And if ours are ſafe there, *let others be ſafe in* 'England.

Omnes Mercatores niſi Publice prohibiti fuerint habeant ſalvum & ſecurum exire de Angl. & venire in Angl. &c.

52. 'Be it Lawful *for every one* henceforth, to go 'out of our Kingdom, and *come back* ſafely and ſe-'curely by *Land* and by *Water*; *care being taken of our* 'allegiance: Unleſs in time of War *for ſome ſhort* 'time, by reaſon of the *publick Good* of the Kingdom: 'Except Perſons *Impriſon'd and Outlaw'd, according* 'to the Law of the Kingdom, and People in War a-'gainſt us, and *Merchants*; concerning whom, let 'it be done as is aboveſaid.

Salva fide noſtra. Propter communem utilitatem regni.

This is a manifeſt Invitation to other *Foreigners* beſides *Merchants*, if either they would ſwear *Allegiance*, according to what the *Mirror* ſhews to have been required of all, who would ſtay here above 40

Days, or at leaſt would not give reaſonable grounds to apprehend their endangering the Kings Peace.

Confutation Pag. 30. To imagin, therefore, that all Strangers were by *King* John's *Charter* to be *amoved* out of the Kingdom, were to ſuppoſe it contradictory and inconſiſtent with it ſelf.

Articuli magnæ chartæ ſub ſigillo Reg. *Joh.* penes doctiſſimum Epm Saliſb. Artic. 6 quod Rex amoveret milites ſtipendiarios & alios qui venerunt cum equis, & armis ad nocumentum regni. *Confut. Pag.* 23. But this wonderful *Confuter*, not only miſtakes Preliminary Articles Signed before the *great Charter*, for the Charter it ſelf; but either miſtakes or diſingenuouſly repreſents that Preliminary Article which relates to *Foreigners*, which was, that the King ſhould amove Foreign Mercenary Soldiers and others, who came *with Horſes and Arms for the damage or deſtruction of the Realm.*

But to make all *Foreigners* within the proviſion againſt thoſe, who came over *in Arms againſt the Kingdom*, I take, *Gentlemen* to be by one of your uſual Figures.

The *Confuter*, ſuppoſing this to take in all Strangers, ſays, 'Accordingly the practice was ever, 'both before and ſince, *to keep Strangers out of the* '*Kingdom*; or when ever they got in, and encreas'd 'to any number, *to expel them, and ſet them a fatal* '*Day for their departure: By which time they all ſhrunk* '*away and vaniſhed, like ſo many Phantaſms or Ap-* '*paritions:* For ſo the Old Hiſtorians pleaſantly ex-'preſs it. Which is not only to bring all *Foreigners* into what related to ſuch only as had been complain'd of; but to apply to *King* John's *Charter*, and the conſequent upon that, what upon Examination, will appear to have been ſpoken of the time of *Henry* the Third, or ſome other Prince, who gave juſt Jealouſy to his People: This indeed King *John* had done, but he was ſo far

far from amoving all dangerous *Foreigners*, after the ſigning thoſe Articles, that he uſed the aſſiſtance of many of 'em who continued in *England* from before that time, and had others who came over afterwards, to ſupport the Violations of his *Great Charter*.

Vide *Annales waverlenſes f.* 181. *de Anno* 1215. *Rege verò è contra per alienigenas & alios ſibi adhærentes ſæviſſimè debacchante multiplicata ſunt mala, & interim applicuerunt in Angliam alienigenæ barbari & magna multitudo diverſar. linguarum, errorem Regis pertinaciter confoventes.*

As a right Line expoſes the obliquity of the Crooked, I need not give the Quotations as they are uſed in that Book, their due Character: but they have ſo little of Mr. *J*——*n*'s Judgment or Sincerity, and reliſh ſo much of your judicious and fair way of repreſenting Perſons and things; that your obtruding upon the World, that inconſiderate Rant as Mr. *J*——*n*'s, ſeems to me a *Maſter-piece* of your Politicks, next to your colouring a Project for inciting the *French King* to break the Peace, by laying *England* open to his Arms, with a pretence of Zeal for the Conſtitution and Liberties of your Country.

I wonder not to find the old Game revived, which in the late times was plaid with ſucceſs, by Sir *Job Charlton* and others, who cover'd their Deſigns for bringing in *C.* the II. with appearing mighty zealous for a *Commonweath*. But to examine the Truth of your pretended Zeal for the Liberties of your Country, or the knowledge which accompanies it, 'twill be requiſite to take a ſhort View of your Means for ſecuring thoſe Bleſſings which you would be thought the moſt concerned for.

The *Confuter*, who would have all Foreigners of whatever Religion, and how much ſoever they have

have ſignaliz'd themſelves, in the Service of his Majeſty and this Nation, to be reputed *Enemies*, thinks one great Point for ſecuring the Conſtitution, were to Baniſh all Foreigners.

With him there's no danger from Men of *Foreign Allegiance*, tho' it be Popery; which, as *J. T.* has licence to obſerve from Mr. *Milton*, *is intollerable, not as 'tis a Religion, but as a Tyrannical Faction, oppreſſing all others.*

Pag. 147.

That the *Conſtitution* do's not require the departure of *Foreigners*, has appeared above: The true Argument againſt 'em is *Toryiſm* at the bottom; which is, That they are not to be ſuppoſed ſo zealous for preſerving to the *National Church, her Worſhip and Emoluments*, as Mr. *J. T.* expreſſes himſelf, in complaiſance to his New Friends.

Life of Milton, p. 79.

But Foreigners united with us, in the common Intereſt of all Proteſtants, and the mutual Confederation of Oaths, to *defend the King and Kingdom*; by all indifferent perſons muſt be held to bring additional Strength and Riches to the Nation: eſpecially if careful proviſion be made, that the generallity of 'em, be well employ'd in Agriculture, Manufactures, or working in Mines; whereby an immenſe Treaſure might be added to the Nation, and the Ballance of Trade ſo turned on our ſide, that we ſhould fetch Money from every Nation with which we dealt: the Advantages of which are frequently obſerved by the Author of the *Eſſay upon probable Methods of making a People Gainers in the Ballance of Trade.* To which I may add, That whatever encreaſe of People any Nation has from its own ſtock, is for ſeveral Years an addition to the Charge; as the Children muſt be maintain'd by the labour

Eſſay, p. 24, 25, 27, 28, 36, 50, 78, 79.

labour of others; whereas Strangers, for the moſt part, come over adult, in a capacity to add to the Wealth of the Nation: And if they occaſion Hardſhips to any of our Artificers, by their cheap way of living, the more they enrich the Kingdom, and prevent our Trading abroad, for thoſe things with which they ſupply us at home. 'Tis well known, That our moſt advantageous Manufactures have been brought hither, or improved, by Foreigners, whoſe deſcendents are become as true Engliſh Men, as even your ſelves; and that the *French Refugees* ſetled in *Canterbury*, have vaſtly diminiſhed the Trade of *Lyons*, and ſerve for a much better purpoſe than *to make a dearth of Proviſions*: If *their paſſive and ſlaviſh Principles were of great uſe to* C. II. *and very inſtructive to his own People how to bear all the Hoſtilities of their Prince*; certainly they fell very ſhort of thoſe Tools to Arbitrary Power which you careſs, as the chief *Patriots*, next to your ſelves. Nor muſt it be forgoten, that but for the Treachery of your Friends, and aſſiſtance againſt the brave *Rochellers*, the *French Hugonots* had to this day continued Examples of Chriſtian Fortitude, in oppoſing that Antichriſtian Tyranny, which they cannot be ſaid to have ſubmitted to of choice, as your dear Friends have done. *Confutation*, p. 28, 29.

But what ever Objection you may have againſt the *French*; methinks you ſhould not apprehend any Acceſſion to Abſolute Monarchy from the ſetling here of *Dutchmen*, whoſe Arms threw off the *Spaniſh* Yoak, with diſadvantages inſuperable, but for the Courage and Conduct of the *Orange Family*, who have been raiſed up for *Deliverers* of oppreſſed Nations.

Since

Since all unprejudiced Persons must agree, that Industrious Foreiners, United in the same Sacred and Civil Interest, and Oaths for mutual Preservation and Support of the Government, are to be looked on as Strength and Riches, to a Nation; That which is most likely to encourage such to settle here, must needs be a probable means to Strengthen and Enrich *England*. Since therefore, (without an Act of *Naturalization*, general to all who will come under fit Qualifications,) as the Law now stands, or is taken, they cannot have the Priveledge of *Englishmen*, without such a Charge, as none but the Wealthy and least Industrious can bear; to me it seems that an Act of *Naturalization*, with due provisions for their Renouncing *Forein* both *Religion* and *Allegiance*, would be greatly for the Publick good.

But since the *Confuter* supposes all *Foreiners* of whatever *Religion* or Country, to be Enemies, and that every one of 'em ought to have an *Englishman* to Guard or engage, him upon an Invasion; and Experience tells us, that all Papists, tho' Natives, and all that refuse the Oaths to this Government, are at least equally dangerous with *Protestant Aliens*; besides which, there are a loose and desperate sort of People disposed to fall in with any Power that may give 'em hopes of a Change; and others, who expect upon a Confusion, to have a new Forming of the Government, according to the beloved *Agrarian* Model; how many of the *Confuters* Millions can be thought likely to oppose an Invasion? especially if it be considered, that a Person more exact in his Computation, holds, that the number of *Fighting-Men* between 16 and 60, is but

One

One Million, Three Hundred and *Eighty Thouſand* Men. Eſſay p. 22.

They who argue ſo warmely againſt all Regular Forces, and ſo much value the numbers which would be drawn together to oppoſe a *Foreign Invaſion*, would do well not only to conſider how many were ready to joyn that Power, which came to Reſcue 'em from as certain ruin, but to recollect the paſſages of the doughty Adventure at that time, againſt the Boughs and Bodies of Trees, which the ſhades of approaching night and horror, having Repreſented as ſo many Armed Men, did more miſchief than *Don Quixot*'s *Wind-Mill*; when the *Poſſe* of ſeveral Counties; the *Gentry*, with their Servants and Followers, taking a falſe Alarm, without thinking to ſend out *Scouts*, or to conſult any thing but their panick fears, left their Baggage and Portmanteaus behind 'em in their Flight; and verified of Wealthy Soldiers, what the *Satyriſt* ſays of a Man that Travels by night with a Charge of Money,

Motaque ad Lunam trepidabit arundinis umbram.

Tho the Living *Heroes* may not be very fond of having their Names Recorded to Poſterity, for this Adventure; That it may be no queſtion what time I ſpeak of, 'twas when Mr. *Wren Bray*'s fright, or the immediate Conſequence of it, haſtened his End.

To come to the particular means propoſed by you Gentlemen of the *Rota*, for the ſecuring this Nation and it's Liberties; ſometimes you Inſinuate that we have need of nothing but a good *Naval proviſion:* Thus in one of your *Rhapſodies*, very differ-

Letter concerning Guards, &c. p. 2. Argument p. 1.

ing that from that *leanneſs of Thought, and flatneſs of Expreſſion*, which you charge upon all that call your Oracles in queſtion; you ſay, *Theſe Halcyon days we enjoy amidſt ſuch an Univerſal Hurricane muſt be Solely Attributed to our Tutelar God Neptune, who with a Guard of winged Courſers ſo ſtrongly Intrenches us*, &c. and you ſpeak with aſſurance, that *no Invaſion can be ſo ſudden upon us, but we ſhall get ready our whole Fleet, bring ſome Forces from* Scotland *and* Ireland, *and prepare our own Militia if there ſhall be occaſion for it.*

p. 19.

Where you are ſo far from relying upon the *Naval Strength*, that you confeſs a neceſſity of *preparing* a *Militia*; and ſuppoſe it fit to have them ſupported by *Regular Forces* from *Scotland* and *Ireland*.

But in caſe all *three* Nations be Invaded at once, your Scheme of defence fails: And they who underſtand more of the Sea than you can pretend to, will tell you, that for near *two third Parts* of the year, with *South* or *South Weſt* Winds, the *French* may come upon us or *Ireland*, when our Fleet can't Stirr out to defend us; that in a few Hours time they may Tide it out of *Fort-Lewis*, *Breſt* and *Rochford*, and may come into their own open Bays; that from *Stoaks*-Bay they may be able to deſtroy our Fleet at *Portſmouth*, tho' we have a good Gariſon there, much more if there be not; and that at the very time when the Earl of *Oreford* obtained ſo Glorious a Victory, there were great odds againſt the probability that his Invincible Courage, Conduct, and Diligence, ſhould have carried out our Fleet at that time; and after all 'twas chance or rather Providence, which united the Squadrons:

This

This was much more *Miraculous*, than that *Admirals* should *declare against the Fleet*; when those *Winged Courſers* have been inſiſted on as our only *Guard*. Beſides, how ſure ſoever that *Guard* be, how many *Admirals* would, like the Earl of *Oreford*, have run a greater risk at home than from the Enemy, in venturing to preſerve our Fleet and ſave the Nation, to the diſappointment of the Intelligencers from hence, and hazard of an Impeachment, from men powerful to Accuſe? Vid. *Hiſt.* p. 39.

Upon Cooler Thoughts, you have found out an other *Guard* beſides the *Fleet*, which is a *Militia* Reduced to 60000, a *third Part* of which ſhould *be kept by turns in conſtant Exercise*: Into theſe, contrary to your Notion of the *Roman* Diſcipline, you admit Servants; but unluckily put the Officers upon a neceſſity of having raw Men, as often as Maſters and Servants part. This Scheme you are ſo fond of, that you Dreſs it up in a particular Treatiſe, in which *J. T.* who is proud to own it, expatiates upon the *Roman Story*, and upon his Abilities to Write an Hiſtory, which ſhall equal any of the *Romans*, and by which he ſhould think to *Diſhonour* ſome Men *more, by ſilencing their Names, than by relating their Actions*, which he counts *Infamous*. *Argument.* p. 23. ib. *Why may not a Man be liſted till Diſcharged by his Maſter.*

Tho' the *Argument* was his Copy for the *Militia*, his firſt Propoſition is a Departure from it; confining the *Militia* to the *Free-Men* only: I need not run through all the abſurdities of his Scheme; ſince he owns *that all is irrecoverably* loſt, if *you only oppoſe the Enemy with undiſciplin'd multitudes*. vid. Sup. *Militia Reform'd* p. 18. p. 64.

'Till therefore he ſhew it probable, That the Freemen will leave their Families and Profeſſions, to follow the Exercice of Arms, and if they do, ſhall be expert Soldiers, before an Enemy can Land and march up to 'em; his *Militia* may be reſpited, till he flouriſh an *Archas* at the Head of his *Utopia*; then he may divide to every one his ſhare, according to the moſt *perfect Form* of a *Commonwealth*, that *ever was delineated* by any Pen, not excepting Mr. *Harrington*'s own Deſcription of the *Jewiſh Commonwealth*, or the more *Ancient* one, by the Inſpired Writer *Moſes*.

Life of Milton, p. 122.

But ſurely the Men of Property, who are ſo fond of the Compliments he makes 'em, to draw 'em from their Trades and Families, do not conſider, that he deals with 'em, as you *Gentlemen* do with King *William*, and not only the laſt Parliament, but even this, whom you apply to with all your Arts of ſweetning, yet tell 'em in effect, that they deſtroy the Conſtitution. Some of your fine Flouriſhes to his *Majeſty*, have been ſufficiently Obſerv'd, by me and others; but who would have thought, that after you had ſaid, "The whole Body "of the People, in two Parliaments, have given "ſanction to the juſter Opinion, and (with a true "*Roman* Reſolution, worthy their Illuſtrious Pre- "deceſſors, worthy the nobleſt, the manlieſt, the "beſt Cauſe in the World, the Cauſe of Liberty) "have declared, That they have Courage, Hone- "ſty, and Wiſdom enough to defend themſelves, "and that they want no Keepers; you ſhould almoſt in the ſame breath, charge this very Parliament, with allowing the King *near double as many Forces as are neceſſary?* and this without any conſideration

Letter concerning Guards, &c. p. 4.

Letter, p. 7.

ſideration of the 12000 Men, which they would have kept up in *Ireland*, who, according to you, can be here whenever the King pleaſes; beſides the 5000 in *Scotland*, and almoſt 6000 in *Holland*, which, as you reckon in all, amount to 33000 Men, and, as if they were all in *England*, call 'em *a dangerous and dreadful Force, and ſuch an one as our Apoſtate Whigs, in any Reign, wherein they were not in the Miniſtry, would have thought ſufficient to have Enſlaved the Nation*: but this very Parliament which you flatter, it ſeems has not made ſuch proviſion againſt this dreadful Force as you, not being in *the Miniſtry*, think ſufficient to enſlave the Nation. *Letter concerning Mariners p. 7.*

Beſides, you ſhould remember, That your Hiſtory owns, that the laſt Parliament, which ſhares in your ſoothing Rhetorick, voted 350000 l. for *Guards and Garriſons*; you may know, that they computed this to be ſufficient Maintenance for a year then to come, for ſome thouſands more than this Parliament have voted; and that Proviſion was made accordingly, by an Act of Parliament. *Hiſtory*, p. 25.

Your Opinion of this, and all other *Parliaments*, that have not judged by your Rules, appears by many Inſtances, eſpecially by your Maxim, That the *conſent of Parliament* would not make *a ſtanding Army* (which in your loweſt and leaſt acceptation, is any Force more than is *neceſſary*) *leſs dangerous*. *Hiſtory*, p. 20.

But ſince, as I have ſhewn, Parliaments have generally truſted their Kings with regular Forces, or power to raiſe and keep them up, for the Defence of the Kingdom (though indeed, when they had

had reaſon to be jealous of their Kings, they appointed ſome Great Men of their Choice, to have ſome ſhare in the Truſt) but according to you, all who urge the neceſſity of more than a good *Fleet*, and an un diſciplined *Militia*, are Conſpirators againſt their *Country*; Can it be thought, that moſt of the *Members* of this and the laſt *Parliament*, where you may uſe that *unbounded Liberty*, which you labour for, are not charged with a *Conſpiracy* or *Apoſtacy*, while the *late*, or *non-Aſſociators* are the moſt *ſturdy Patriots*?

Argument, p. 17. *The Conſpirators ſay*, &c.

But others will think, that they may with a juſter freedom ſay, the Men who attempted, during the laſt Parliament, not only to have the *Regular Forces* disbanded, but the *Militia*, for a Project, which would require a Year at leaſt for bringing to any head, were for inciting an Invaſion; and however, according even to *J. T.* they could not be for the ſupport of this Government; for he confeſſes, That "*all Countries muſt have ſome Force to defend them*, "*againſt Foreign Inveſions and Domeſtick Tumults*; "for as it was their own good and Security which "occaſioned men firſt to quit the ſtate of Nature, "and to aſſociate themſelves into Governments, ſo "the *raiſing and regulation of their Forces* muſt be "directed and and accommodated to the ſame ends. "An Iſland (ſays he) is beſt ſcituated for preſervation, as having need of little other Force, either "to infeſt foreign Coaſts, or to protect its own, "beſides a numerous Fleet, which it can never want. "But if it be likewiſe a *Government for encreaſe*, *ſuch as ours*, its Scituation naturally leading it to Trade, "and planting of Colonies; and if it has the noble Ambition of holding the Ballance ſteddy between

Militia Reformed, p. 16.

What's the reaſon he'd have this ſo defenceleſs. p. 17.

Vide *This in ſubſtance in* Harrington's *Oceana*.

tween

"tween other Governments, of succouring the "Distress'd, and grudging Liberty to none, [*then "it must be always provided with a considerable Land "Force.*]

This, *Gentlemen!* is one of the Books, which if you don't all value your selves upon, is stampt with your particular Approbation: But since 'tis own'd, that *a considerable Land Force is necessary for* England; *that all must be irrecoverably lost, if there be* none but *undisciplin'd Multitudes* to oppose the *Enemy*; And 'tis not pretended, that the present *Militia* is yet sufficiently Disciplin'd, or that your Project, if establish'd, could soon be reduced to Practice and Order; and yet you would have the whole Army Disbanded, having in your assuming way *demonstrated beyond the possibility of a Reply, that small numbers of Men may and have destroyed the Liberties of Potent Nations*; what can Men think of your *Demonstration*, but that 'tis as much for the preservation of the Government, as charitable to the Soldiers, for whom, as you publickly insult, you have *taken care, least they should be knock'd on the Head:* But can any Man, who loves *the Liberties of* England join with them, who either would Sacrifice 'em to an *Abdicated* or *Foreign Power*, or to a meer *Chimera*, that most perfect *form of a Commonwealth*, which Mr. *J. T.* recommends? not being aware of the danger of *compassing* and *imagining* the Subversion of the *Monarchy*: To Men of such designs, I will own there's more danger from King *William* and his *Protestant Successor*, than from the *late King*, or *Prince* of *Wales*, tho' back'd by the Power of *France*, and that tho' *Spain* should be in *French* Hands.

History, p. 2.

Militia Reform'd, p. 73.

Letter concerning Mariners.

But

(GENTLEMEN)

Your's to Command upon

the like Occasion.